

Joanne Madin Vieira Paisana

TIPPLERS, DRUNKARDS AND BACKSLIDERS

The Temperance Movement in England 1830-72, including a case study of
Lincoln.



A Doctoral thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Ph.D from
the Universidade do Minho

Braga, 2002

Cover picture: The Drunkard and his Family, *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. IV, 1840, n.p.

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Abstract

The nineteenth-century temperance movement consisted of those who believed alcohol to be the main cause of poverty and wretchedness. They strove to spread this message nationwide and to persuade others to moderate or stop drinking altogether. The two main tactics used were moral persuasion, through education and personal example, and then legal persuasion, through the prohibition of the sale of alcohol for consumption. The movement between 1830-72 comprised three main stages: moderationist/anti-spirits, radical teetotal/total abstinence, and prohibitionist.

This thesis examines the temperance movement in England from its beginnings to the time of important legislation in 1872. It analyses the protagonists themselves, their methodology, success and influence. Lincoln is taken as a case study. Temperance activity in Lincoln has not been analysed in depth before, (M. Robinson's *Two Themes of Life in Victorian Lincoln: Drink and Sewage*, an unpublished course dissertation from 1978, is very superficial).

The thesis begins by sketching forms of aid other than temperance available to the needy during the nineteenth century. Chapter 1.1 deals with paternalistic succour, diverse forms of organised charity, and different voluntary societies set up mainly by the working class. Self help, in the guise of friendly societies, Mechanics' Institutes, co-operatives, and sickness and burial clubs is then discussed. Chapter 1.2 has an analysis of state help to the needy through both the old and new Poor Laws.

Given the importance of establishing the legal framework within which the temperance reformers worked, chapter two begins by describing the predominant legislation concerning intoxicating drink from the first major act in 1552 to 1830. (Subsequent legislation is incorporated into the following chapters). Social conditions that

explain the important role of drink and the drink place in England around 1830 are discussed in chapter 2.2, along with the arguments for temperance. The chapter ends (2.3) with a description of the original, American, anti-spirits societies and their subsequent early English counterparts.

Chapter three analyses in depth the total abstinence societies, which were a radical extension of the anti-spirits societies. The predominance of working class activists and the move to reclaim drunkards rather than prevent drunkenness is most marked. The methods used were more aggressive, and the movement gained thousands of members but tended to lack official support.

Chapter four concentrates on one famous teetotaler in particular: Joseph Livesey, the so-called ‘father of teetotalism’. This Prestonian was active in many different fields, contributing to the debates on religious, education, Corn Law, political and social reform. He was a firm believer in teetotalism as a prime means of improving working class lives.

Chapter five evaluates the third, prohibitionist, phase of the temperance movement, dominant from 1852 through the actions of the United Kingdom Alliance. The involvement of parliament in ‘the drink question’, and subsequent moves to get a Permissive Bill passed, are discussed.

The final chapter analyses temperance activity in Lincoln from 1830 to 1872. After describing the economic and social characteristics of the city, the different temperance societies are analysed in terms of protagonists, supporters, activities and methodology.

Resumo

O movimento *temperance* do século XIX foi constituído por aqueles que acreditavam que o álcool era a causa principal da pobreza e da miséria. Esforçaram-se por espalhar a mensagem a nível nacional e a convencer outros a moderar ou a parar completamente de beber. As duas tácticas principais utilizadas foram a persuasão moral, através da educação e do exemplo pessoal, e a persuasão legal, através da proibição da venda de álcool para consumo. O movimento compreendeu três etapas principais entre os anos de 1830 e 1872: *moderation/anti-spirits*, *total abstinence* e *prohibition*.

Este trabalho de investigação examina o movimento *temperance* em Inglaterra desde o seu início até 1872, um ano de legislação importante. Analisa os próprios protagonistas, as suas metodologias, sucesso e influência. A cidade de Lincoln constitui o estudo de caso deste trabalho. A actividade do movimento *temperance* em Lincoln não foi anteriormente analisada em profundidade, (a dissertação não publicada de M. Robinson intitulada *Two Themes of Life in Victorian Lincoln: Drink and Sewage* é um trabalho muito superficial).

A tese começa com uma descrição sumária de outras formas de ajuda, para além do movimento *temperance*, disponíveis durante o século dezanove. Assim, o capítulo 1.1 trata do auxílio paternalista, de diferentes formas de caridade organizada, e de diferentes sociedades de voluntariado estabelecidas principalmente pela classe operária. Seguidamente, é discutida a auto ajuda na forma das associações de beneficência, *Mechanics' Institutes*, cooperativas e clubes de doença e de serviços fúnebres. O capítulo 1.2 analisa a ajuda do estado aos necessitados através das antigas e novas Leis dos Pobres.

Dada a importância de estabelecer um enquadramento legal no qual os reformadores *temperance* desenvolveram o seu trabalho, o capítulo dois começa por

descrever a legislação dominante sobre bebidas alcoólicas desde o primeiro decreto principal em 1552 até ao ano de 1830. A legislação subsequente está incorporada nos capítulos seguintes. As condições sociais que explicam o papel importante da bebida em Inglaterra por volta de 1830 são discutidas no capítulo 2.2, assim como os argumentos a favor do movimento *temperance*. O capítulo termina (2.3) com uma descrição das primeiras associações *temperance* americanas e britânicas.

O capítulo três analisa em detalhe as associações *teetotal/total abstinence* que constituíram uma extensão radical das associações anteriores. O predomínio de activistas da classe operária e o seu empenho em tratar alcoólicos em vez de prevenir a embriaguez é muito evidente. Os métodos utilizados eram mais agressivos, e o movimento ganhou milhares de membros embora nunca tinha tido um grande apoio oficial.

O capítulo quatro concentra-se num famoso abstencionista de bebidas alcoólicas chamado Joseph Livesey, conhecido como o ‘pai’ do movimento. Livesey, originário de Preston, foi activo em muitas áreas de intervenção diferentes, contribuindo para debates sobre religião, educação, a *Corn Law*, e reformas políticas e sociais. Foi, também, um crente firme na ideia de que a abstinência constituía o meio principal para melhorar as vidas da classe operária.

O capítulo cinco avalia a terceira fase do movimento (*prohibition*), que foi dominante desde o ano de 1852 através das acções da *United Kingdom Alliance*. São discutidos o envolvimento do parlamento na “questão da bebida” e as acções para passar a *Permissive Bill*.

O capítulo final analisa a actividade *temperance* em Lincoln desde 1830 a 1872. Depois de uma descrição das características económicas e sociais da cidade, são analisadas as diferentes associações *temperance* em termos dos protagonistas, apoiantes, actividades e metodologia.

For Tó, Ricky and Francis

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my gratitude to a number of people, without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

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Abbreviations

AH	Alliance House (London)
BCL	Bradford Central Library
LAO	Lincoln Archives Office
<i>LC</i>	<i>Lincolnshire Chronicle</i>
LCL	Lincoln Central Library
MCL	Manchester Central Library
<i>SM</i>	<i>Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury.</i>
UCLAN	University of Central Lancashire (Preston)
WCML	Working Class Museum and Library (Salford)

INTRODUCTION

The temperance movement has long held a fascination for me, for my father has had a life-long connection with the teetotal Rechabite Friendly Society. He started as a local tent secretary and became High Chief Ruler of the organisation. The very title evokes an air of mystery. The Rechabite social activities I attended in my youth further underlined the fact that members were not ‘ordinary’ people – their refusal to drink anything alcoholic set them apart. They were somewhat inward looking, finding support from other members and reaping financial benefits such as reduced mortgage rates. Much later, the temperance movement, of which the Rechabites are a small part, seemed an interesting subject for research, and one that had been rather neglected. From its beginnings in the late 1820s it marked the lives of thousands of English men, women and children. It influenced politicians, thereby helping to shape party policy, attracted the attention of the national and provincial press, filled the upper classes with both enthusiasm and dismay, and provided the working class with much more than a means of ‘escaping the bottle’.

Relatively little attention has been paid by historians to the movement as a whole. Brian Harrison is a notable exception, with his well-documented and detailed *Drink and the Victorians*, first written in 1971. Two useful books pre-dating Harrison are Norman Longmate’s *The Waterdrinkers. A History of Temperance*, 1968, (rather anecdotal), and G. B. Wilson’s *Alcohol and the Nation*, 1940. The latter is very good on statistics, (Wilson was secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance for some time, and he was obviously not an ‘outsider’). A. Dingle’s *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England*, 1980, is very good for the Alliance from 1872-1900. L. Shiman’s

Crusade against Drink in Victorian England, 1986, is easy to read but adds little to Harrison's work, except where the temperance/Church of England relationship is concerned. Individual histories of temperance societies such as the Independent Order of Rechabites Friendly Society, or volumes of temperance history of varying length, penned by advocates of the cause, are available. Some are extremely dull and most limit themselves to a chronological account of the development of the movement, rarely going beyond 1900.

Very few local studies have been made of the movement during the Victorian era. A few large Yorkshire and Lancashire cities at the forefront of the industrialization process have been covered, either through histories of their temperance societies or theses of a general character. For example there is M. Collins' M.A. thesis *Drink, Temperance and Prostitution in Victorian Bradford*, 1983, and G. Field's *Historical Survey of the Bradford Temperance Society during the First 67 Years of its Existence*, 1897, both of which examined Bradford. The people of these cities, cradles of nineteenth-century working class agitation, were understandably not indifferent to a movement whose prime objective was to improve working-class lives. On the other hand, Banbury has been scrutinized by Brian Harrison and Barrie Trinder with a view to obtaining a picture of temperance in a small country town.¹

In this thesis, an attempt is made to complete more of the national temperance picture by analysing temperance activity in Lincoln. Lincoln was chosen as a case study in order to provide information on a city that contrasted with the aforementioned, large, industrial cities that had already been investigated. It was thought that benefit would be gleaned from investigating a rural town that differed in both size and geographical location. Lincoln, a quiet but growing market town in the nineteenth century, situated near the researcher's hometown, was believed to 'fit the bill'. The relative importance

of the brewing/malting interest in agricultural Lincoln also made it attractive as a case study. Would promoters of temperance encounter strong opposition from vested drink interests? How far was the temperance movement able to penetrate a town that was 'off the beaten track'? Did Lincoln reflect the national changes in the movement? R. Russell's *The Waterdrinkers in Lindsey 1837-1860*, 1987, provided a little insight into temperance in Lincolnshire, and M. Robinson's *Two Themes of Life in Victorian Lincoln: Drink and Sewage*, an unpublished college course dissertation from 1978, provided a useful map of Lincoln beer houses established after the 1830 Beer Act, among other things.

Joining a temperance society was just one option available to people who wished to improve their lives. The first chapter will deal with other types of help that existed from around 1830 to 1872. Temperance societies can then be placed in their proper context. Private charity, self help organisations and state help through the poor laws (old and new) will be examined.

Chapter two will trace the background of liquor legislation, enabling the reader to understand the origin of the laws in force in 1830. Subsequent legislative changes will be mentioned in succeeding chapters. This chapter will further detail the first temperance, anti-spirits societies, their origin, rationale and progress.

Chapter three examines the second stage of the movement, total abstinence or teetotalism. This was a radical extension of the anti-spirits movement, although the two arms of the movement co-existed for a few years. It differed from its predecessor in composition, (much more working class) and methodology, (more aggressive). The Dissenters became more important to the movement than the clergy of the established church, until the 1860s. The Christian basis of the movement was preserved, but antagonism was evident from many who classed the teetotallers as infidels and Socialists.

Chapter four chronicles the life of ‘the father of teetotalism’, the influential Prestonian Joseph Livesey. This man is virtually unknown today outside the restricted circles of his home city and temperance, but he personifies the Non-conformist, Victorian self-made man eager to spread his knowledge and assistance. He was one of many energetic, self-sacrificing Victorians not content to sit on the sidelines and witness the suffering of his fellow men.

Chapter five charts the development of the movement through its legislative/prohibitionist phase. From 1853, pressure was put on parliament to abolish the liquor trade. The onus of responsibility for drink abuse was placed on the seller, not the buyer. This phase did not totally eclipse those who wished to eradicate liquor through moral suasion i.e. eradication of liquor through the example of personal abstinence. However, the United Kingdom Alliance, representing the legal suasion lobby, was by far the strongest temperance faction at this time and requires special attention.

Chapter six examines the temperance movement in Lincoln. The different temperance societies that existed between 1830 and 1872 are analysed through their protagonists and activities. Strong links with the national movement were found, through contacts with national temperance organisations, and the influence of travelling lecturers and the temperance press.

It is hoped that this thesis will expand our knowledge of the temperance movement in Victorian England, especially through the information gathered in Lincoln, and in so doing spotlight an aspect of English culture very much neglected to the present day.

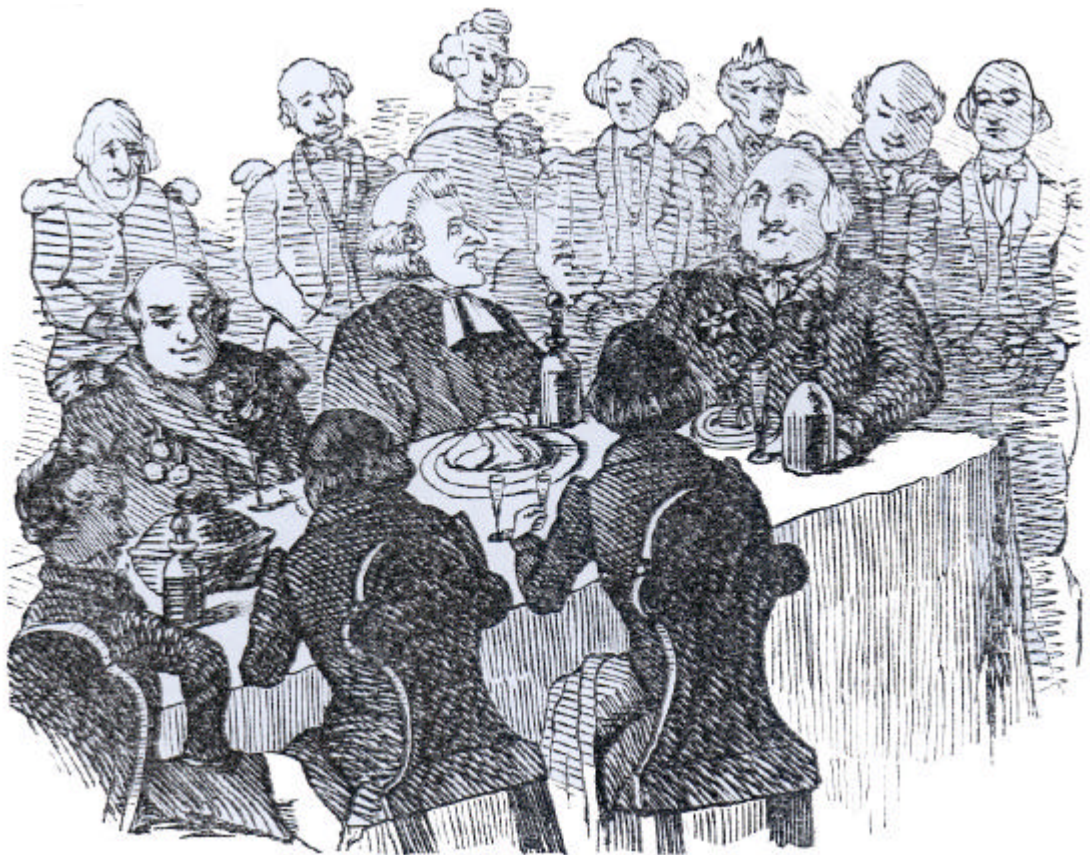
Reference Notes

Introduction

¹ 'Drink and Sobriety in an Early Victorian Country Town: Banbury 1830 – 1860', *The English Historical Review*, Supplement 4, 1969.

CHAPTER ONE

DESERVING OR UNDESERVING?



The Duke of Cambridge, at a three-guinea dinner, cannot believe that there is any want in the country.

The Struggle, no. 222,
front page.

1.1

PHILANTHROPY AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Labourer 45, wife 38, son 13.

Husband applied for help saying he was soon to get work but meanwhile had no food. Said he had been 6 months in the hospital. Discovered to have been in constant work until he went on the spree during which time he went to the Isle of Wight. Returning applied for admission to the workhouse. The Governor states that while there he was idle and full of cunning dodges. Agent found the family in comfortable room and saw food and fire. Decision — undeserving.

Humphreys: 1995, p. 135.

M.A.A. Widow. Age 27.

Three children, the eldest 7 years old. [...] the woman and children had been ill from fever, and, in a very weak state. Has had 3s per week for 35 weeks, and is still receiving that sum. Will be a long case, but will eventually become self-supporting. [deserving]

Humphreys: 1995, p.124.

During the period with which this thesis deals, 1830-1872, poverty-induced economic and social problems increased in depth and scope as industrialisation took its toll on the weakest and the unlucky. ‘Victorian cities were places where problems overwhelmed people’.¹ The working classes of Victorian England had particularly good reason to fear, however. With little or no savings to fall back on, they found themselves alarmingly vulnerable to those ‘contingencies and calamities that occur in the lives of all’.² Some were fortunate enough to have had the foresight and means to join a benefit society.

These benefits provided them with aid at difficult times. Apart from this, help was forthcoming from two sources, one public and the other private. State help in the form of the Poor Law will be examined in chapter 1.2. Private assistance and self help agencies will be discussed here.

Philanthropy³

Paternalism

Paternalism had been the age-old method of relieving distress since feudal times. Based on the benevolent use of the power of the Church and property, the paternalists of the nineteenth century saw the solution to social problems in simple terms. Their help would lead to a moral and spiritual regeneration of the nation, which would create a more Christian and stable society. Fear of the power of the emerging 'masses' reinforced the belief among the upper classes that imposition of order from the top through improved housing, education, poor law institutions, recreation, and church attendance would indirectly benefit themselves, for a more contented working class would be more docile and less threatening. ('Social control' should not be overemphasised, however. Fear of social unrest cannot explain the persistence of charitable subscriptions through changing political circumstances.)⁴

Paternalism was to be increasingly challenged from the 1830s. Changing political and social conditions generated reforming ideas on the part of the Whig/Liberals and the New Conservatives. In addition, the condescension of the paternalists was increasingly unacceptable to the lower and even middling orders of society and was challenged by Radicals, Dissenters, evangelical philanthropists, Utilitarians and others. A different way of assisting the needy was required, one which could match both the changing nature of

inter-class relationships and the increasing tendency to centralise government. This came in the guise of progressively more organised charity.⁵

Organised Charity

The charitable relief described by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton in *England and the English*, 1834, illustrates the extent to which 'abject' charity had pervaded the fabric of Victorian society, saturating the lives of givers and recipients. One could go through life existing on nothing else, for the 'Royal Maternal Society' delivered babies without charge, the 'Ladies' Benevolent Society' supplied baby linen, vaccinations were free, a free infant school was available at eighteen months old, clothing was obtained from the 'Educational Charity Clothing Society', after five years a free indenture was obtained to a weaver, after which one could become a journeyman. Charity was available for adverse circumstances, and after dying a pauper one was buried at the expense of the parish with paupers for bearers and mourners.⁶ By the late Victorian period, the Rothschild Buildings in the East End of London were pervaded by organised charities largely run by women with the help of the poor of the tenements. They included: Sick Room Helps' Society, Jews' Lying-in Charity, Israelite Widows' Society, Jewish Soup Kitchen, Whitechapel Children's Care Committee, Boot Club, Clothing Club, Children's Country Holiday Fund, Children's Penny Dinner Society, Ragged Schools' Union, Bare Foot Mission, Jewish Ladies' Clothing Association and a Savings Bank run by St. Jude's School.⁷ By 1872, alms-giving had become, if not a business, then certainly business-like. What had largely been private philanthropy of an unprofessional, personal nature had developed into a large, organised charity network, reflecting the changing attitudes of the donors and recipients.⁸

Of 640 London charities functioning in 1860, 279 were founded between 1800 and 1850, and 144 between 1850 and 1860. By the 1860s, they were raising annually about as much as the total annual expenditure of the poor law system in all England and Wales.⁹ Organised philanthropy had become 'fashionable', sponsored by religious denominations as well as by secular societies and guilds. Each charity tended to respond unilaterally to its particular concern with little reference to those around it.

Although much charity was secret on principle, the many surviving subscription lists of various charity organisations give some indication of those who subscribed, more or less 'voluntarily'. Members of the middle as well as the upper classes were predominant, many people giving donations to more than one organisation. However, just as recipients of charity were not exclusively from the poorer classes, so philanthropic subscriptions were not limited to the rich, and philanthropy should not be reduced to a simple reflection of class conflict.¹⁰

Regarding philanthropic motive, social control has already been mentioned. Religion also provided a major impulse as well as abundant opportunity for benevolence by way of parish visitation, mission outposts, ragged schools and week-night functions, 'as well as the direct encounter and even friendship between rich and poor that many regarded as the antidote to Chartism and Socialism'.¹¹

The power and pleasure automatically available to the giver of charity were other strong impulses for philanthropy. The threat, real or perceived, of the withdrawal of a large donation conferred power and status on the donor. Whilst it was argued that 'the highest exhibition of the spirit of true philanthropy is to be found in the efforts which are directed towards the destruction of the causes which demand its exercise', this was often not the case.¹² Philanthropy was often self-serving. The philanthropist's status could be reinforced

by his harping on the defects of the poor. The whole paraphernalia of philanthropy, superficial and ostentatious, was a world unto itself.

The numerous charity balls, philanthropic dinners, and conversaziones, the pretentious central offices, the pages of print devoted to listing subscriptions, the elegant membership cards [...] all ensured that such nineteenth-century redistribution of the national income as did take place gave pleasure to, and even financially profited, many of the not-so-poor before it finally filtered down to those in real need.¹³

Whereas there were always those who did not doubt the humane effects of philanthropy and its reflection of the nation's 'genius for the *ad hoc* and institutional, for self help and personal sacrifice', there were others who thought it 'largely insensitive to the genuine needs of the poor', a thinly disguised form of self-interest.¹⁴ As the century progressed, indiscriminate charity was increasingly regarded as counter-productive, and the middle-class idea that poverty could be alleviated by their direct action began to falter. Training the poor in self help was increasingly thought to be far more beneficial. Beatrice Webb highlighted 'the tragic dilemma of charitable relief' in 1889, whereby 'if we help a man to exist without work, we demoralize the individual and encourage the growth of a parasitic or pauper class'.¹⁵ The charity reformers of the 1870s maintained that capricious benevolence did nothing for the poor but weaken morals and nurture inherent sin. They believed that if the poor were ever to become more prosperous it would be only through self-denial, discipline, responsibility, hard work, thrift, temperance and forethought.¹⁶ Around 1870, there was a spreading belief amongst would-be reformers of charity that many supplicants for assistance were impostors.

Thousands of cunning wastrels were allegedly succeeding in extracting a comfortable living by duping numerous incautious naïve charitable agencies each carelessly unaware of the others sinful indiscriminate generosity.¹⁷

Unwisely administered charity from ‘meddling philanthropists’ was also thought to seduce the individual ‘from the wise and natural toilsomeness of life’. Factors such as unemployment, under-employment, casual work and the effects of the trade cycle were considered irrelevant, especially when compared to the ‘real’ causes of poverty ? drunkenness, debauchery and immorality. It was felt by various reforming elites in the 1860s that an organised system of relief capable of co-ordinating the disparate charities would be a more effective means of relieving the poor, and would temper the moral degeneration resulting from the successful false representations of some applicants to traditional charities. Thus, the Charity Organisation Society (COS) was established.¹⁸

The Society for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendacity (COS)

The Charity Organization Society came out publicly for temperance legislation in 1871. The first COS was set up in London in 1869. Thereafter they spread throughout the capital and the country. Supported by Queen Victoria, the royal family, members of the aristocracy and other elite groups, they functioned through gifted officials and became a dominant voice on matters relating to the condition of the poor. Their objective was to ‘systematically co-operate with all relief agencies, carefully consider each case, provide effectual assistance to all that were deserving, promote providence and self-reliance, and repress mendacity and imposture’. Their ultimate aim was to provide aid to the deserving to enable them to become independent. They intended to work closely with the Poor Law Boards, and shared the antipathy to out-door relief that the boards were supposed to have. The relationships with poor law guardians were rarely satisfactory, however. The stiff, unpopular eligibility test that relied on scientific methodology made the COSs even less attractive to the poor than the Poor Law Boards. There was also a reluctance on the part of other charities to relinquish control over their own donations and co-operate with/fund the

COSs. Support came mainly from the higher echelons of the established church and some non-conformist ministers, especially Unitarians. Also, a lack of volunteers to carry out the all-important home assessment visits, plus difficulties in obtaining funds, all militated against the success of the Charity Organisation Society. As its operation falls largely outside the time remit of this thesis, the reader is directed to Humphreys' *Sin, Organized Charity and the Poor Law in Victorian England* for a full account of its workings.

Whilst without doubt there were many who preferred to accept charity rather than struggle with the vicissitudes of life, the pervading idea that charity 'tainted' the receiver affected many of the poor. There was a belief that charity was degrading. According to Spry, the 'degradation of charity [tended] to destroy principles of self-respect'.¹⁹ The behaviour of the woman described below is understandable.

One countrywoman accepted some red flannel from the local charity in Tysoe, but washed it thoroughly and hung it on the line. Asked by passers-by why she was washing the new flannel, she replied, 'why, I bin washin' the charity out of it'.²⁰

In an increasingly class-conscious society, the recourse to one's social superiors for economic assistance was often felt as a mark of failure and shame. Indeed, the pauper was consciously made to feel degraded by tests of eligibility, especially the workhouse one after 1834 (see chapter 1.2).

Voluntary and mutual insurance societies

The voluntary organisations of the working classes formed the heart of a distinctive working class culture that came into being in the mid-Victorian period. Friendly societies, building clubs, savings banks, co-operatives, sickness and death clubs and trade unions were all part of a 'voluntary' network that sounded middle class in its vocabulary of self help and social advancement, but was communal rather than individualistic. Respectability

was emphasised, although these organisations functioned in a rough environment of street life and pubs.²¹ The friendly societies came to embrace a larger proportion of the working class than any other institution, ‘and can therefore be considered the most typical of all working-class bodies formed to respond to the problems of industrialism’.²²

Friendly Societies²³

In 1801, Frederick Eden published *Observations on Friendly Societies* and estimated the total number of societies as 7,200, with a membership of 648,000. In 1815, an estimated 925,429 members of friendly societies existed. By 1872, there were estimated to be 32,000 societies with four million members, according to the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Friendly and Benefit Building Societies, (1871-4).²⁴ There were 1,857,896 *known* members of friendly societies according to official returns to the Registrar General in 1872. (It was difficult to ascertain precise statistics because many friendly societies were unregistered, i.e. ‘unofficial’, as will be seen later.) This was far more than trade unions (1,000,000) and co-operatives (301,157), the other working class movements seeking to improve the position and power of their members at that time.²⁵

Friendly societies, or box clubs as they were sometimes called, were defined by Eden as institutions ‘whose object is to enable the industrious classes, by means of the surplus of their earnings, to provide for themselves a maintenance during sickness, infirmity and old age’.²⁶ They were working class institutions mainly comprised of artisans, although members of the aristocracy, clergy, and intelligentsia were also often connected with them, as patrons or even workers. (William Gladstone was a member of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds Society). Friendly societies were associated with self help, thrift, prudence, decorum and independence. They were committed to the mid-Victorian social order and its values, and in no way wished to overturn them. This

commitment even led to a distancing of members from the lowest strata of the working class, with whom they had little in common. This in turn made it difficult for them to speak for the working class as a whole. The virtues they promoted were middle class in nature, and the frequent disregard in which they were held by their 'superiors' until mid-century was a constant source of irritation to them. They worked to diminish the social and economic disabilities that burdened the working classes, helping to remove some of the obstacles on the path to an improved social position. They sought to preserve a measure of dignity and independence for members.

It was from the late seventeenth century that societies similar to those recognisable two hundred years later emerged. There was a rapid increase from 1760.²⁷ One of their aims was to keep members from the clutches of the poor law or 'the charity people'. They sought to insure members against sickness, unemployment or funeral expenses. Each member made a small monthly contribution (usually about 1s), making him eligible for such benefits. In the event of his death, his widow/family would receive a sum allowing for a decent burial. In many cases, he could call on the services of a doctor hired by the society on a contractual basis. The medical practitioner received a sum per member for the duration of the contract, and in this way, medical facilities were brought within the reach of a large section of the working population for the first time, without recourse to the fulfilment of the poor law requirements.²⁸

The friendly societies existing around the beginning of the nineteenth century were spread nationwide. They were small, independent, self-governing and local in nature. Many had less than a hundred members. Local societies were either composed of members from the same occupation, or were of mixed membership. Some of the one-trade societies might have called themselves trades unions before the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1825, if the law had been as beneficial to them as to friendly

societies.²⁹ Their organisation was similar to the trades unions, where government lay with the general body of members in the club room, and offices were held on a rotation basis. A full-time bureaucracy gradually developed as the societies grew, but they were self-governing during the period under review (1830-72). The societies were characterised by a strong suspicion of magistrates and officials of the governing classes, for they were jealous of their independence and wary of paternalism.

Until 1830, there was considerable fear that friendly societies and benefit clubs were revolutionary, or might be used as a shield for revolutionary purposes. This went hand-in-hand with a desire to improve the morals of the working men, a desire often shared by the members themselves.

The origin [of friendly societies] could be said to be something more than social ? it was moral. [...] there was always a religious and moral touch and [...] all Societies stand for a high moral code, and lapses from the path of rectitude are usually followed by expulsion.³⁰

Suspensions as to purpose led to an early desire to exert supervision of some sort through the magistrates or the clergy.³¹ After the 1830s, a new attitude to friendly societies emerged, in line with the changing political outlook of the country. The feeling was prevalent that government should not interfere with the societies, but encourage their independence. It was increasingly felt that working-class self help was more appropriate than state aid, and that financial stability could not be imposed by legislative means but rather by persuasion. When moves were made later in the century by the middle and upper classes to 'take over' the friendly societies, from more or less benign motives, this was rejected. Members required merely recognition of their efforts and help with actuarial problems from the 'educated and influential classes'.³²

The first general act concerning friendly societies was passed in 1793. From 1793 to 1875, nineteen regulatory acts were passed. Five parliamentary committees inquired into

some aspect of their activities in addition to the Royal Commission appointed in 1870. The Royal Commission sat until 1874 and gathered more information about friendly societies than any previous body.³³ The 1793 act was an effort to encourage registration of the societies so they could be more easily controlled and savings could be made on the poor rates. In return for registering, the act afforded them protection for their funds, for recourse could be made to the courts in the event of embezzlement. Magistrates were initially in charge of registration, (the Clerk of the Peace accepted the rules at Quarter Sessions), but this passed to the Registrar from 1846.³⁴ The desired savings on the poor rates did not materialise initially, largely due to the economic difficulties after the Napoleonic Wars. However, from mid-century, savings were made as an increasing number of men joined friendly societies and benefited in times of need. The Registrar Tidd Pratt estimated friendly societies enabled a saving to poor rates of two million pounds a year.³⁵

It took a long time for some societies to be convinced it was in their best interests to register with the Registrar of Friendly Societies. In 1872, there were still many societies that preferred the legal disabilities suffered by unregistered societies to the privileges conferred by registration. After all, unregistered friendly societies were never unlawful. The number unregistered at this time has been estimated at a third of all friendly societies.³⁶ Hostility towards the agents of government and suspicion of the government's intentions remained a serious obstacle to official registration until the latter part of the century. (Many societies had wound themselves up after the passing of the 1793 act, fearing their funds would be confiscated). With the appointment of a Registrar and the growth of efficient administration in the organs of central government, (reorganisation of the poor law and local government), suspicion gradually declined. This was helped by successive moves from 1834 away from local magisterial control to direct contact with central government through the Registrar of Friendly Society's office. Legislation and

administrative machinery originally devised to deal with friendly societies was extended to cover trade unions, co-operatives, building societies, loan societies and local savings banks.³⁷

Apart from the financial security afforded by the (registered) friendly societies, another important attraction for the member was the provision of regular occasions for conviviality and fellowship, provided for in the society's rules.³⁸ The annual club day and the monthly meeting at which the premium was paid were festive occasions. Some friendly societies had sports events and excursions, too. Public processions, whilst ridiculed by some, at least served as an effective and cheap form of advertising, well adapted to the taste, education and condition of the people addressed. The monthly meeting was often held at a public house, drink helping the revelry along. Initially, the rent was paid by buying a pre-arranged quantity of liquor, 'lodge liquor', although this practice was increasingly discouraged and left the societies open to criticism for wastage of society funds and encouraging members to drink.³⁹ (Indeed, 'management expenses', which covered anything from the secretary's travelling expenses to the cost of ceremonies and 'convivialities', was a common cause of financial instability.) Apart from this, weekly meetings or lodge nights were usually held. (Similarities with the Freemasons can be discerned here. Indeed, Hardwick cites friendly societies as offshoots of 'Freemasonry, political clubs, and convivial meetings'.) The lodge meeting also (but not always) had an additional element of mysterious ceremony and regalia, or 'expensive trumpery', as critics called it. The initiation ceremony was especially important, but lost a lot of its more grotesque and fantastic 'mummery' as the century progressed. By 1869, Hardwick could write: 'High-sounding but unmeaning titles, mysterious mummeries, and tinsel decorations are fast ceasing to be recommendations or very useful adjuncts to Friendly Societies'.⁴⁰

Tight rules and regulations made for common bonds and a feeling of belonging. An elaborate hierarchy of offices and ranks, open to all, encouraged limited advancement within a static structure, and mirrored the aspirations to social mobility all members held dear. Friendly societies usually excluded all discussion of politics and religion at lodge meetings in the interests of harmony and unity.

Apart from the dangers afforded by fraudulent manipulation, one of the weakest areas of early friendly societies concerned their actuarial shortcomings. Many collapsed in the face of overwhelming demands on funds in the face of inadequate contributions. Often, this left aged men who had contributed to the society for many years unable to claim benefits. Many inmates of workhouses, old and young, had belonged to benefit clubs. The study of the probability of sickness among working men was fundamental to the friendly societies, but had not been undertaken systematically. Dr. Price first attempted to produce tables of probability for sickness in 1789, but they were not reliable. In 1845, F. Neison published the first set of reliable statistics in *Contributions to Vital Statistics*. He showed not only that members of friendly societies lived longer than non-members, but also that life expectancy was *greater* the lower one's social position.⁴¹ Henry Ratcliffe, Corresponding Secretary of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, devoted himself to the problem of solvency and of building up a body of data on which contribution tables and benefits were based. His tables of 1850, 1862 and 1872 were important, and helped friendly societies in general.⁴² Only after mid-century was a reasonable amount of information concerning sickness and death collected to form the basis of calculations of probability, largely possible because of the increased number of five-yearly returns sent in to the Registrar's Office (a prerequisite of registration).

Hardwick enumerated five conditions for a financially sound, stable friendly society.⁴³ These were:

1. rates of contributions for the assurance of any specified benefit must be based on a sound knowledge of average liability, and not benevolence;
2. payment rates should be graduated or an initiation fee be paid, taking into account a member's age at entry;
3. the number of members over which the joint liability extended must be *de facto* sufficiently large to ensure a reasonable approximation to a working average of liability;
4. legislative protection must be afforded to the funds, as well as their regular and judicious investment;
5. a quinquennial or other periodic revision of assets and liabilities was needed to correct any anomalies present.

It is obvious from what has been said previously that many friendly societies did not conform to these principles for various reasons, endangering the solvency of the society.

The period 1815-75 was marked by the growth of affiliated orders ? those with a central headquarters that presided over the activities of numerous branches. The 1850 Friendly Societies Act recognised the value of affiliated orders and provided for the registration of their branches as separate societies. It conferred no powers on the central bodies to enable them to regulate in any way the constitution or powers of the subsidiaries. (There had been strong resistance to this from the branches, anxious not to lose any autonomy).⁴⁴

Better financial security was the most probable reason for the growth of affiliated friendly societies in relation to small, local societies. The Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity Friendly Society (the Oddfellows) and the Ancient Order of Foresters Friendly Society (the Foresters) are notable examples of affiliated orders.⁴⁵ There were 34 of these orders with more than 1,000 members each according to the 1874 Royal

Commission Report. However, the largest of these, the Oddfellows, had 481,630 members in 1874.⁴⁶ They originated in the areas that were first to industrialise, Lancashire and the West Riding. The orders spread rapidly nationwide and eventually included even agricultural workers. The affiliated orders became the leaders and spokesmen of the friendly society movement and were responsible for gathering and assessing data on which much actuarial science was based (see above). Some had a special ethical or moral principle. For example, the Independent Order of Rechabites and The Sons of Temperance were total abstinence friendly societies, established in 1835 and 1850 respectively.⁴⁷ They were composed of the top strata of the working class, textile workers, printers, carpenters, blacksmiths and those connected with the building trade, for example. Their contributions were generally higher than those of the local societies, but the benefits were higher too. They averaged 10s a week sick pay as against 7s from the smaller societies.⁴⁸ Leadership, unlike the smaller societies, was largely composed of self-made men and members of the middle class ? doctors, businessmen, literary men, farmers etc. A basic prerequisite for leadership was the ability to organise one's own time and not be in need of pecuniary reward (official duties were generally unpaid). An advantage held by affiliated friendly societies over smaller local ones was that membership could be transferred to another lodge. This was especially important to those employments where tramping was common.

Burial clubs were friendly societies that provided the minimum of social security insurance against a pauper funeral. They suffered from the same financial problems as general friendly societies, namely that in the absence of reliable tables and in the face of serious misunderstandings of the laws of sickness and mortality, (which necessitate a large accumulation of capital during the early years of an institution), contributions did not cover funeral benefits in the long term. The problem was accentuated for burial clubs, for many infants were enrolled. Although children had a proportionally higher death rate than young

adult males, contributions were not graduated to take this into account, and benefits remained the same regardless of age at entry. This courted future financial disaster. The establishment and use of safe actuarial procedures mentioned previously benefited burial societies too.

Around 1855, the accusation was made by ‘most respectable authority’ that burial clubs encouraged infanticide. Working mothers were accused of killing their offspring in order to receive the funeral benefit, the high infant mortality rate among the working class being the cause of suspicion. After investigation by a House of Commons Committee, it was found that other causes were responsible for the high number of deaths, and the matter was dropped. The scare shows how ignorant many were of the true living conditions of the working class, conditions that afforded a life expectancy of around forty-five years in the large industrial towns.⁴⁹

Co-operatives

Non-profitmaking co-operative stores developed from Robert Owen’s schemes for co-operative communities of around 1817. They were an important boon to the poor especially after the 1840s. According to Tholfsen, they were, ‘a commitment to consensus values with a continual critique of capitalist ideology and practice’. Their ultimate objective was to transform the competitive system.⁵⁰ Owen believed that man’s character was entirely shaped by his environment. He condemned the competitive system upon which modern industry was based and advocated a society based upon co-operation. The co-operative movement’s original aim was ‘the transformation of the whole capitalist society into a socialist commonwealth’.⁵¹ Every co-operative aimed to establish a self-sufficient, primitive communist community system with its own system of co-operative

production and egalitarian exchange. Isolated co-operatives would gradually expand until the whole country was taken over and the 'New Moral World' was installed.⁵² Other men later built on Owen's ideas; George Mudie, John Minter Morgan, William Thompson and John Francis Bray, for example. Later, specifically anti-capitalist theories were fused with Owen's ideas, although Owen himself believed that the interests of the 'producing classes' were identical to those of the capitalists. The imprecision of his ideas allowed them to be adopted and adapted by others.

The establishment of co-operative trading communities was essential to Owen's ideas. Co-operative trading stores, whose profits were intended to finance the establishment of the communities, were to prove more successful than the communities, however. Eventually, the belief that the movement would peacefully abolish the competitive system, although not formally abandoned, became a 'pious hope'. In order to free themselves from capitalism, the co-operators needed capital to build their communities. In successfully accumulating capital from the 1840s, beginning with the twenty-eight Rochdale 'Equitable Pioneers' in 1844, co-operative community building was postponed and eventually forgotten. By 1860, *The Co-operator* affirmed: "the present co-operative movement does not seek to level the social inequalities which exist in society as regards wealth", but only to mitigate the exploitation of the workman'. Communism and Socialism were rejected, and social revolution put aside in favour of co-operation as a movement for working-class improvement.⁵³

The success of the 'Co-ops' was quite remarkable. They were protected by the 1852 Industrial and Provident Societies Act. They thus had all the privileges afforded the friendly societies ? the right to vest their funds in trusts, to prosecute their officers for professional misconduct, to own property, and to trade with non-members. Before the Rochdale pioneers, the co-operative trading experiment had been tried on numerous

occasions, all without success. The Rochdale pioneers began with a capital of only twenty-eight pounds. The secret of their success was a combination of fixed interest on shares and loan capital with dividends to members in proportion to the amount of their purchases. Membership increased in the first year to 74, with £181 capital. The turnover was £710 and the profits £22. By 1875, funds were £225,682, turnover £305,657, and profits £48,212. Thereafter, they continued to expand.

As aids to working-class self-support, contemporaries thought co-operatives were as important as trade unions. Certainly, their soirées, social meetings and anniversaries were sources of pride and were well attended. Co-operatives gave working-class women the opportunity to buy better quality, unadulterated food more cheaply and thus provided immediate tangible benefits. In conjunction with friendly societies and savings banks, they undoubtedly helped the upper working class at least to foster the habits of thrift and economy that were so vital to their economic security. They procured more than economic benefits, however, for they saw themselves as vehicles for improving the morals of their members through co-operative society meetings. By inviting local dignitaries to their annual meetings and courting acceptance from the establishment, they consciously attempted to secure the advancement of members. By the 1860s, representatives of the middle class were in regular attendance at such meetings, availing themselves of the opportunity to preach consensus values.

Improvement societies

Mechanics' Institutes

The Victorian period was the heyday for endeavouring to 'edify the mind', or that of one's neighbour. 'Elevating the spirit' and improving the morals and manners of the lower classes became an important *raison d'être* for many well-intentioned people from the middle and upper classes. Debating and Philosophical Societies spread all over the country as well as institutions for adult education.

Mechanics' Institutes for the self-improvement of the working classes and the imparting of 'useful knowledge' spread all over Britain from the mid-1820s, after the establishment of the first London Institute in 1817. The London Institute lasted three years, but the idea was revived in 1823 and Mechanics' Institutes expanded thereafter. Between the 1820s and 1840s, 700 Mechanics' Institutes were set up to offer artisans 'improvement' in the form of technical instruction, library and newspaper facilities.⁵⁴

Henry Brougham, founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was the leader of the Mechanics' Institute movement. He wished the working classes to keep control of the institutes, assisted by the middle class.⁵⁵ However, the idea was taken over by the middle and upper classes, who patronisingly offered adult educational opportunities to working men in the hope that they would use their leisure time in a more productive way than before. By replacing their 'vulgar amusements' with rational recreation, rich rewards were forecast. It was argued that the institutes would make working men 'more intelligent and useful in their several stations of life, better acquainted with their duties and responsibility'. It was argued that the 'greater degree of knowledge an individual possesses, the more easily he can calculate upon what the duties of society and of his station, impose upon him'.⁵⁶

Religion and politics were formally excluded from the curriculum from the beginning, but lectures on practical science, political economy, Malthusian population theory, the benefits of machinery, and successful inventors and business men and the like were all central to the Mechanics' Institutions. The small subscription fee restricted access to only the most destitute, but in effect, the middle class gradually predominated. Literature, recreation and entertainment took over from practical science, reading and writing classes, leading to a decline in working class membership.

Joseph Livesey's disappointment with the Preston Mechanics' Institute, which he helped to establish, is described in chapter 4. The dismal fate of the Lincoln Mechanics' Institute is traced in chapter 6. Bradford Mechanics' Institute is also typical of their development. First set up and run by members of the working class in 1824, it failed financially because the elite perceived it as too independent. A second Institution was set up in 1832 and remained under the auspices of the middle class and the Nonconformists. It was seen as a means of educating young working class men, enabling them to rise to positions of responsibility 'which in all probability they would never have filled without its aid'. Further, it enabled many to enter upon and pursue 'a successful middle class career by the habits, knowledge, and the connections acquired in [the] Institute'. These were the projected aspirations of the middle class. In practice, the working men made more use of the basic instruction on offer, elementary reading and writing, and used the Institution for cheap diversion. Advanced classes, as in Lincoln, were poorly patronised. The library's most popular volumes were not the 'dull and heavy books' but the current journals and fiction. At its peak in 1872, Bradford Mechanics' Institute had almost 2,000 members, with perhaps half as many in classes, and could boast a few prominent self-made men who had benefited from its facilities, (the Labour MP Fred Jowett, for instance).⁵⁷

Despite the failure to maintain their appeal to the working classes, Mechanics' Institutes were remarkably successful in giving a degree of education to thousands of working men. How many became 'self-made men' is impossible to say, but the illusion at least of climbing the social ladder through one's own efforts served to divert many intelligent, energetic working men from protest to conformity. After the passing of the 1870 Education Act and the consequent extension of educational opportunities, the Mechanics' Institutes suffered a rapid decline, many later becoming transformed into technical colleges. Preston is a case in point.

Conclusion

Charitable relief tainted by paternalism, the mainstay of assistance until the beginning of the nineteenth century, was increasingly frowned upon by the receivers who were progressively more conscious that very often their plight was not their responsibility alone. Although charity became increasingly organised, and benefits must have accrued from this, the stigma of charity relief remained.

So much new ground was broken in the nineteenth century, (in local government organisation, health care, education provision, prison reform etc.), that it would have been surprising indeed if advances on the time-honoured method of paternalistic support (which was not all negative), had not materialised. Charities mushroomed as donors tended to focus on specific groups. Concomitant with the development of the charity 'business' was a growth in self help initiatives of various kinds. For the first time, infrastructures developed, aided by the state, that allowed the working man to insure against future mishaps, and to improve his physical and mental well being. The friendly societies and Mechanics' Institutes played a particularly important role, the former owing much to a

change in government policy regarding the best way to control the potentially dangerous working classes. Repression was replaced by controlled support. The numbers investing in friendly societies show a remarkable adherence, although obviously the most destitute were unable to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded (financial and social). Benefits were tangible, and the societies remained overall in the charge of the working classes. By usurping the Mechanics' Institutes, the middle class eventually drove the workers away. Inter-class co-operation was a tricky business, especially when there was distrust on all sides.

It is now time to look at the state's response to those in financial difficulty — the operation of the old and new Poor Laws.

Reference Notes

Chapter 1.1. Deserving or Undeserving?

¹ Briggs: 1968, p. 22.

² Winskill: 1881, p. 241.

³ For a comprehensive consideration of the various facets of philanthropy see Prochaska, F. K., 'Philanthropy' in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, vol. 3, pp. 357-93 and Brian Harrison's *Peaceable Kingdom*, pp. 217-59.

⁴ Prochaska: 1990, pp. 370-1.

⁵ 'Charity' and 'philanthropy' will be used interchangeably. Some historians argue that the latter has a broader humanitarian aim, free of religious moralising, (Prochaska: 1990, p. 360).

⁶ Quoted in Spry: 1866, preface.

⁷ Prochaska: 1990, p. 373. The preponderance of Jewish charities is indicative of the organizational capability of this religious body, and also of the precarious economic position in which many Jews found themselves.

⁸ The feasibility of organised philanthropy as a national solution to social problems would only be seriously challenged at the end of the nineteenth century.

⁹ Harrison: 1982, p. 217.

¹⁰ By the 1850s scores of pension and benefit societies existed in London alone catering to genteel applicants, from artists to old Etonians, (Prochaska: 1990, p. 374); *ibid.*, p. 362.

¹¹ Harrison: 1982, p. 228. See also Prochaska: 1990, pp. 377-83.

¹² Hardwick: 1869, p. 161.

¹³ Harrison: 1982, p. 244.

¹⁴ Prochaska: 1990, p. 358.

¹⁵ Quoted in Harrison: 1982, p. 235.

¹⁶ This was challenged from the late 1870s, when socio-economic factors inherent in industrialised England convinced many that the poor were often unable to escape poverty caused through factory lay-offs etc. unaided. Sloth and deceit were not the only causes of pauperism. More state involvement in providing for people's welfare was demanded from such as Joseph Chamberlain.

¹⁷ Humphreys: 1995, p. 50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

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- ¹⁹ Spry: 1866, preface.
- ²⁰ Harrison: 1982, p. 252.
- ²¹ Ittmann: 1995, p. 105.
- ²² Perkin: 1969, p. 381.
- ²³ See Gosden's *The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875* and Tholfsen's *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England*, pp. 288-305 for a discussion of friendly societies.
- ²⁴ Gosden: 1961, pp. 5, 7 & 17; Hardwick: 1869, p. 21.
- ²⁵ Trade unions will not be discussed in this thesis, for they differ in nature from other voluntary and mutual assistance societies.
- ²⁶ Quoted in Gosden: 1961, p. 15.
- ²⁷ The societies themselves liked to claim an ancient and hallowed pedigree ? Roman for the Oddfellows and Adam himself for the Foresters. This was not defensible, (Hardwick: 1869, pp. 6-8).
- ²⁸ This system formed the pattern on which the National Health Insurance scheme was based after 1911, which in turn was expanded into the general practice branch of the health service in 1948. The general practitioner today still receives an annual sum per head for those on his panel, now paid by the state.
- ²⁹ The use of funds for strike purposes often belied their real identity, and led to their collapse as in Northumberland and Durham in 1844, when the friendly societies were broken up and the funds divided among the members to sustain them in their strike, (Gosden: 1961, p. 71).
- ³⁰ Wilson: 1955?, p. 3.
- ³¹ For friendly societies and the state see Gosden: 1961, pp. 155-97.
- ³² Hardwick: 1869, p. 163.
- ³³ See Hardwick: 1869, pp. 19-22 & Gosden: 1961, pp. 183-7.
- ³⁴ The first Registrar of Friendly Societies was the zealous John Tidd Pratt, who held the office until his death in 1870, see Gosden: 1961, pp. 190-2. Magistrates refused registration unless a society's tables and rules had been approved by two professional actuaries 'or persons skilled in calculation'. Refusal was also given if provision was made in the rules for money to be spent on 'lodge liquor', (Gosden: 1961, pp. 96 & 117).
- ³⁵ Hardwick: 1869, p. 163.
- ³⁶ Gosden: 1961, pp. 189 & 194.
- ³⁷ As noted, some trade unions had enrolled as friendly societies at the beginning of the century to circumvent the Combination Acts; Gosden: 1961, p. 8.
- ³⁸ Some of the large non-affiliated societies like The Hearts of Oak and the Royal Standard had no convivial aspect, and were centralised in London. They acted on purely business principles to give higher-earning investors (artisans, domestic servants and others) a return on their savings without the 'nonsense' of club night, (Gosden: 1961, p. 50).
- ³⁹ This criticism was challenged by Hardwick, Past Grand Master of the Preston District of the Independent Order of Odd fellows, Manchester Unity. He claimed that his friendly society encouraged temperance and severely punished members seen intoxicated whilst receiving sick benefit. Habitual drunkards were expelled, and anyone appearing drunk on lodge night was fined. The rules rarely needed to be enforced, (Hardwick: 1869, p. 148).
- ⁴⁰ Hardwick: 1869, p. 10; *ibid.* p. 11.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-5.
- ⁴² Gosden: 1961, pp. 100, 103 & 93.
- ⁴³ Hardwick: 1869, pp. 60-115.
- ⁴⁴ Only in 1875 was an act passed recognising the constitution of the affiliated orders, after the recommendations of the 1870-4 Royal Commission.
- ⁴⁵ See Hardwick's *The History, Present Position & Social Importance of Friendly Societies* and Gosden's *The Friendly Societies in England 1815 ? 1875*, pp. 26-49.
- ⁴⁶ Gosden: 1961, p. 30.
- ⁴⁷ The Sons of Temperance originated in New York on 29 September 1842; See Paisana: 1993, pp. 265-76 and Wilson's *Centenary History of the Manchester and Ashton Grand Division of The Order of the Sons of Temperance Friendly Society 1855-1955*. The Rechabites were estimated to have 3,260 members around 1872, (Gosden: 1961, p. 65).
- ⁴⁸ Gosden: 1961, p. 76.
- ⁴⁹ Hardwick: 1869, p. 152.
- ⁵⁰ Tholfsen: 1976, p. 162.
- ⁵¹ From the Leeds Redemption Society, quoted in Perkin: 1969, p. 384.
- ⁵² Dinwiddy: 1986, p. 41.
- ⁵³ Fraser: 1983, p. 103; Cole & Postgate: 1966, p. 383; Perkin: 1961, pp. 384-7.
- ⁵⁴ Parry: 1993, p. 29.

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- ⁵⁵ Tholfsen: 1976, pp. 130-2.
⁵⁶ Tholfsen: 1976, p. 47-8; Perkin: 1969, p. 305.
⁵⁷ Ittmann: 1995, p. 121.

1.2

THE OLD AND NEW POOR LAWS

Evidence of Charles Lewis, labourer.

9828 (Mr Wakley) What work were you employed about when you were in the workhouse? ? I was employed breaking bones.

9839 During the time you were so employed, did you ever see any of the men gnaw or eat anything from those bones? ? I have seen them eat marrow out of the bones.

‘The Andover Workhouse Scandal’ in *Midwinter*: 1868, p. 76.

The state provided help for the needy through the Poor Laws. Although this was supplemented by private charity, as noted previously, the relief offered by the Poor Law Overseers constituted the only state protection for the needy during the period considered by this thesis, 1830-1872. A radical change in the Poor Law (the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834) marks approximately the beginning of this period, and so consideration will largely be given to the altered law. Before the New Poor Law is examined, however, its origins will be traced, albeit briefly.

The Old Poor Law

The Old Poor Law was based on the codifications incorporated in legislation of 1597 (39 Eliz I c.3) and 1601 (43 Eliz I c.2). The legislation was intended as a temporary expedient, primarily to control the mendicancy that plagued much of Tudor England. It established the basic principles of local responsibility for poor relief and a distinction in treatment between the deserving and undeserving poor. This classification was still being made in the late nineteenth century, as noted in chapter 1.1. In the time of Queen Elizabeth

I, the deserving were characterised as the old, the lame, the impotent and the blind. These were to be given relief. The undeserving were the vagrant, the beggar and those who refused to work, much as in the nineteenth century. These were to be punished.

Subsequent legislation modified the Poor Law's implementation. In 1609, an Act provided for county Houses of Correction, where persistent able-bodied claimants were sent. The Poor Relief Act of 1662 (13 & 14 Car. II c.2) established that a person was only eligible for relief in the parish or township where they had settlement, either by birth or by residence. However, the Act also permitted the justices, on complaint of the parish, to remove any newcomer who was thought likely to claim relief. This was not always strictly enforced (one reason being that removal could be expensive). The 1662 legislation also allowed partition of parishes in order to establish Houses of Correction.

By the eighteenth century, it was possible to establish settlement in various ways. These included not only by birth but also by marriage (if a woman or Irish), by serving an apprenticeship, by being employed in one place for a full year, by renting property worth £10 or more a year, by paying local taxes or by living in the parish or township for more than forty days after giving notice. An Act of 1795 (35 Geo III c.101) repealed the provision relating to the removal of those who might claim relief.

A poor rate on property values was first imposed under an Act of 1572 (14 Eliz I c.5) and was restated in the legislation of 1597 and 1601. However, by the eighteenth century rates were also levied for a number of other purposes, for instance parish constables and jails, and this was codified in the legislation of 1738-9 (12 Geo II c.29). Poor rates were not uniform. Southern counties had higher rates than northern ones.

The 1601 Act intended that overseers put able-bodied paupers to work. It also enabled them to provide tools and materials for this work to be completed. However, the Act gave no authority to purchase or hire workhouses and few were built. The Workhouse

Test Act, (9 Geo I c.7), 1722, was the first legislation that specifically empowered parishes, singly or in groups, to establish workhouses and to enforce a workhouse test on applicants for relief. It insisted that relief only be given within the workhouse. Gilbert's Act, (22 Geo III c.83), 1782, specifically encouraged parishes to form unions for the erection of workhouses though they were intended for the sick, the aged or others unable to find employment. The Act encouraged overseers to obtain outdoor employment for the able-bodied if they refused to enter the workhouse and it authorised the making-up of wages. An Act of 1796 enabled magistrates to order outdoor relief, later known as the Speenhamland system for it was first implemented by the Speenhamland magistrates. This was especially important in the industrial north, where cyclical trade slumps could throw large numbers out of work simultaneously.¹

The Old Poor Law, with its reliance on the parish as a unit of government, created a large number of unprofessional, unpaid administrators. The small parish units, about 15,000 in all, meant finances were scarce and coping with sudden extra burdens was difficult. The Old Poor Law created a vast but rather inefficient system of social welfare based on the close relationships to be found in the village and hamlet. It was roughly adapted to English rural society up to 1750, but after this time the pressures of population increase, labour mobility and price movements necessitated adjustments in the system of poor relief distribution.

The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834

Increasing dissatisfaction with rising poor rates and the (mis)use of the allowance (Speenhamland) system, and what appeared to many to be inefficient administration, led to the appointment of a Royal Commission (1832-4) to look into the problems of pauperism.²

From its influential Report emerged the Poor Law Amendment Act, largely the work of Edwin Chadwick, which attempted to impose national guidelines on Poor Law practice.³

The New Poor Law was an attempt to curb costs, discourage pauperism and ensure efficient management of relief. Relief of the able-bodied was supposed to be subject to the workhouse test, and outdoor relief was meant to be abolished. The principle of 'less eligibility' was used to ensure that a supported pauper's condition was inferior to the lowest paid labourer's. The system was administered by elected Boards of Guardians responsible for unions of parishes, usually arranged around a market town. Boards were formed by order of the Poor Law Commissioners, who were appointed by central government and sat in London. In effect, the Commission reorganised the country's only major social service.⁴

Outdoor relief was never abolished in practice, however. As the introduction of the New Poor Law coincided with an economic slump, outdoor relief was also given to able-bodied men. An Order of 1844 restricted this to cases of 'sudden or urgent necessity', which was flexibly interpreted. The Outdoor Labour Test Order, 1842, allowed relief in return for work, usually on footpaths, roads and communal parks. The Outdoor Relief Regulation Order of 1852 recognised the administration of outdoor relief for the sick and elderly.

Opposition to the New Poor Law

The Anti-Poor Law Movement began as soon as the bill was passed in August 1834. At first, only William Cobbett and the proprietor of *The Times* criticised the bill energetically. The protest gathered momentum, however, leading to various amendments being introduced. It reached its height in 1837 and 1838, in the manufacturing areas of the

West Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The most violent, highly organised opposition to the work of the Poor Law Commission came from there, although protests were made in London, the south, east and west too. After 1839, the *organised* movement was swallowed up in the wider campaign for the People's Charter, although protest continued.⁵

Hostility to the New Poor Law cut across party and class lines. Some Tories, like Richard Oastler, saw the New Poor Law as a threat to the paternalistic society they regarded with fondness. They believed that by breaking the social compact between the upper and lower classes whereby the poor were to be a charge on the wealthy, the working classes would rebel and anarchy result. They believed that the security of society, especially of property, depended on the continuance of parochial responsibility for the poor, with the overseer acting under the fatherly eye of the local Justice of the Peace, attending to the needs of his neighbours in the parish. Many believed that centralisation through the Commission and an impersonal bureaucracy would change the administration of poor relief for the worse. On the other hand, the Poor Law Amendment Act was supported in parliament by such Tories as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. Radical working men saw the New Poor Law as a means of reducing wages, and some could not understand how Radicals like Francis Place could support the Act.⁶

The three Commissioners were resented by ratepayers and local Poor Law officials. The localities lost their autonomy as the Poor Law was centralised and standardised. Select vestries had been set up which kept an eye on the conduct of the overseer and discussed relief policy. Many places had salaried assistant overseers to help the unpaid, part-time overseer perform his duties of collecting the poor rate and relieving the poor. With the expanding population, these duties were becoming increasingly arduous. The overseers claimed their improved administration had led to a fall in the cost of relieving the poor. Parishes in the north generally had lower rates than those in the south, and resented the

interference more. They did not see themselves as particularly 'inefficient'. Many ratepayers, parish officers and magistrates were annoyed when the Assistant Commissioners appeared in their townships to form Workhouse Unions from 1836. They argued that the New Poor Law was designed to help rural, agrarian poverty and not urban, industrial poverty.

A further argument against the new law was that large-scale factory redundancies and under-employed handicraft workers could be more humanely and more cheaply relieved by a dole of a few shillings. They would be able to find work when conditions improved, but if they were admitted to the workhouse their families would be divided, and their tools and possessions sold. Finding work again would be much more difficult. In addition, mixing honest workers with the loafers and scroungers was not a good policy. The local officials claimed their knowledge enabled them to distinguish the deserving from the undeserving, and they resented having their hands tied by Commissioners in London.⁷

A large number of influential people, as well as the working classes in Yorkshire and Lancashire, laboured to discredit the New Poor Law. Magistrates like John Fielden of Todmorden played a large part in the Anti-Poor Law Movement. Others like J. G. Paley of Bradford sat on anti-Poor Law platforms. Whig candidates at the parliamentary elections of 1837 and 1841 were forced to admit that the Act of 1834 had not been intended for the north of England, and to promise to work for its modification there.

Public meetings were held to protest against the New Poor Law. Throughout 1837 and 1838 townships held their own meetings, often chaired by the local parson or a prominent inhabitant, addressed by local speakers and itinerant orators. Resolutions were passed and petitions got up and sent to favourable MPs like John Fielden or John Walter. The law was portrayed as interfering with the ancient rights of local self-government and was accused of being a measure to humiliate the working classes. It was vilified in

religious rhetoric, with orators and pamphleteers relying on violent Biblical language rather than statistical evidence.⁸

The law was fought by electing anti-Poor Law officers as guardians. Magistrates were *ex officio* members of the board and could also help. Some ratepayers refused to pay their poor rates. Rioting occurred at Bradford, Dewsbury and Todmorden when officials attempted to carry out their duties. The Commission played a waiting game and cautiously advised guardians in the north to carry out the 1601 act until things had cooled down.⁹

The movement began to lose its vigour after 1839. Splits appeared in anti-Poor Law Committees and Chartism emerged as the professed salvation of the working man. Attention was focussed on obtaining universal suffrage, for it was believed once that was achieved, unpopular laws could be overturned. (Fielden had failed to get a repeal in 1838 by 309 parliamentary votes to 17). Chartism had wider appeal, and caused a split between radical and conservative elements of the anti-Poor Law Movement.

To a certain degree, the anti-Poor Law Movement was destroyed by its own success. Poor relief in Yorkshire and Lancashire was not administered very differently to formerly. There was no mass incarceration of paupers. The middle classes found that centralisation was not as rigorous as they had feared. Local parish officials still retained considerable freedom of action. Some northern parishes were not grouped into Unions for a decade, for the Commission had limited powers of compulsion and could not dissolve incorporations of parishes established under Gilbert's Act of 1782 without the consent of a majority of the guardians of the incorporation. Thus, considerable areas could not be grouped into viable New Poor Law Unions. Protest continued for a century, but the Anti-Poor Law Movement was only really vigorous for around two years.¹⁰

Conclusion

The Old Poor Law, instituted in the reign of Elizabeth I, provided a legislative framework that allowed the distribution of charity to the ‘deserving’ poor. Little attempt was made by the state or local government to succour the ‘undeserving’ — vagrants, idlers etc. The principle of local responsibility upheld by the pre-1834 Poor Law enabled the deserving to be identified, for close-knit rural communities encouraged intimacy. The dispensers of aid (magistrates and unpaid parish officials) had a reasonably reliable source of information on those requesting financial assistance, and recent settlers could be removed, if it was thought they would become chargeable to the parish. Establishing settlement was very important and must have been a desperate issue for many, much as it is for today’s immigrants.

Houses of Correction were first introduced in 1609 for persistent able-bodied claimants. The guiding principle was to make claimants work for their relief. The pre-1834 Poor Law, with the parish as its basic administrative unit, relied on a large number of amateur administrators. It was workable as long as communities remained small and stable, and the social hierarchy was not challenged.

Industrialisation brought upheaval to English society, creating towns of thousands of workers who could no longer rely on informal kin and friendship networks in times of need. Wage-dependent workers were often at the mercy of trade cycles they could not control. Efficiency was increasingly a watchword in parliamentary circles. It is not surprising that a Royal Commission (1832-4) was set up to examine the working of the Old Poor Law, and that it recommended a vast overhaul. Edwin Chadwick was responsible for the new cost-efficient guidelines that aimed to make receipt of poor relief dependent on a rigorous test. Relief was to be given only to those who entered the workhouse, and the

principle of 'less eligibility' was introduced, i.e. conditions were to be worse for a workhouse 'inmate' than those of the lowest paid labourer. Professionalism was introduced through elected Boards of Guardians, supervised by central government. Local government ceded power to its central counterpart.

Opposition was quick to materialise to what many perceived as a draconian measure. It was formalised in the anti-Poor Law Movement. Organised, sustained protest was at its height in 1837-8, and embraced people of all political and social persuasions. Protest was felt all over the country. However, the New Poor Law was not as rigorously applied as originally feared, and was susceptible to circumvention to a certain degree. This eventually helped to quash protest, and by 1872, only sporadic protest was heard.

One path to pauperism and the workhouse was via drink abuse. The great amount of drink abuse among the poor was evident to anyone who paid the slightest heed to their situation. This malady, or rather the first national movement set up to combat it, will now be addressed

Reference Notes

Chapter 1.2. The Old and New Poor Laws

¹ Baker, Levitt, Pope: 1996, pp. 2-6. Critics of Speenhamland declared it subsidised idleness and blocked the free play and mobility of the market force. They also argued that it subsidised employers who would then pay as low a wage as possible.

² An annual expenditure of around £6,000,000 on poor relief, much of it to able-bodied adults, was anathema to those who believed in a self-regulating market, as most of the members of the Royal Commission did.

³ The Report has been accused of being biased against the old system of relief, for example by the Webbs. Its assumption that distress was caused by 'individual improvidence and vice' is particularly attacked, (Marshall: 1985, p. 16).

⁴ Chadwick left Somerset House in 1841. The Poor Law Board, under parliamentary control, replaced the Commission in 1847.

⁵ Ward: 1983, p. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BESETTING SIN



Death Unmasked
Supplement to The Preston Temperance Advocate, July 1836, front page.

2.1

LIQUOR LEGISLATION UP TO 1830

Ah Drunkenness! Thou base tyrannic crime,
Which spoils, O Britain thy prolific clime;
Thou bane of all that's good, thou subtle foe,
Thou universal curse to high and low.

Livesey, J., *The Besetting Sin*: p. 1.

Good ale, the true and proper drink of Englishmen. He is not deserving of the name of Englishman who speaketh against ale.

Borrow, G., *Lavengro*, 1851.

The 'besetting sin' of drunkenness has an extensive history in the British Isles, as has the legislation passed by successive governments to combat it. Legislation, in attempting to cure a problem, often occasions other difficulties, however. The laws concerning alcohol are a case in point, as will be seen. This chapter will deal with legislative action up to 1830 only, the beginning of the period covered by this thesis. Legislative action from 1830 to 1872 will be incorporated in the relevant subsequent chapters. Tinkering with age limits, opening hours, tax levels etc. continues today, in search of an elusive equilibrium, but what are the origins of the current legislation?

The most comprehensive histories of drinking in England were first written only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, by temperance reformers. They were often weighty tomes, sometimes running into two or more volumes. A good example is P. T. Winskill's *The Temperance Movement and its workers*, vols. I-IV.¹ The descriptions of early drinking practices, drunkenness and faulty legislation usually served as justification for the

formation of the temperance movement, the promotion of which constituted the real objective of these works. The lack of objectivity, whether through the author's personal involvement with the movement or through a lack of perspective caused by writing whilst the movement was still in its early stages, led to biased presentation. Nevertheless, although it is easy to diminish their importance by casting them in the guise of mere propaganda tools, they are regarded nowadays as essentially accurate.

Temperance histories are not the only source available for gleaning the history of drink and attitudes to drink legislation. Temperance journals also provide information on the subject. However, they are usually just as lacking in objectivity and analytical rigour as their weightier counterparts. Their style is often, but not always, heavy and pedantic, making them unattractive to the ordinary reader. To illustrate this one need only examine the following extract from 'The Rise and Progress of Intemperance' that appeared in the *Temperance Journal*, February 9 1839. Referring to the period of Roman domination, it is said of the introduction of ale;

To what extent of abuse the introduction of this new beverage was carried, we have no accurate means of determining, but noble as their masters might be, like every subdued people, we incline to think, that the natives felt indisposed to indulge in habits, which would only have engendered in their minds a degree of contentment wholly incompatible with the ignominy of their situation. Had they, however, felt so inclined, the extreme abstemiousness of their conquerors would have been a silent correction of their folly.

Notwithstanding prose style, the many surviving temperance journals of the nineteenth century are rich sources of information and will often be cited in future chapters. The following are also valuable sources of information, especially for the post-1830 period: Prize Essays, especially those of Dr. Frederic Richard Lees and Dr. R. B. Grindrod; reports of national and international conferences; the annual reports of national temperance associations and the different branches of temperance societies; newspapers

and temperance tracts. For this section, however, the temperance histories have been relied upon.

Examples of early collective or individual temperance practice were given by temperance historians in order to lend weight to the arguments for suppression. The individuals cited were all notable men, worthy of emulation. Benjamin Franklin, John Milton, John Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Samuel Johnson and others 'all tried the practice and confirmed its advantage in their respective cases'.² Allusions were made to ancient Chinese and Greek practices, (to emphasise the longevity of the abstinence practice), as well as to references in the Bible, thereby lending divine authority to the cause. The following were favourite quotes: 'Then the Lord said to Aaron, "You and your descendants must never drink wine or any other alcoholic drink before you go into the tabernacle."' Leviticus 10:9; 'Wine produces mockers; liquor leads to brawls. Whosoever is led astray by drink cannot be wise'. Proverbs 20:1; 'Destruction is certain for you who get up early to begin long drinking bouts that last late into the night'. Isaiah 5:11, and 'Destruction is certain for those who are heroes when it comes to drinking, who boast about all the liquor they can hold'. Isaiah 5:22.

Literary backing was also used to support the temperance cause. For example, Dawson Burns referred to an extract from Thomas More's *Utopia*, that linked drinking (and other vices) to crime.

[...] tippling houses, taverns, brothels, and other dens of iniquity, wine and beer houses, and places of gambling. Do not all these, after rapidly exhausting the resources of their devotees, educate them for crime?³

Samuel Couling emphasised the persistent nature of the problem of drunkenness by stating that 'in the reign of Edgar [959-975] drinking was so prevalent and carried to such excess, that a law was enacted that no man should drink beyond nicks or marks made in the cups'. Longmate explained the nature of early licensing legislation by writing that,

surprisingly, it was mainly designed to protect the drinker from the perils of adulterated drink. Fifteenth-century ‘ale-conners’ swore an oath to check the quality of all beer sold. Signboards had to be hoisted when brewing was in progress, so inspection could be made, (hanging name boards later became a permanent fixture of public houses). Control of unruly behaviour in drinking places at this time was essentially local in nature, some magistrates suppressing surplus alehouses, or demanding sureties of good behaviour from alehouse keepers.⁴

Ale was ‘the supreme English drink’ by 1580, despite the existence of many English wines. The chronicler Holinshed recorded fifty-six ‘small’ or light wines in use in England around this time, including ‘theologicum’ from the few surviving monastic vineyards, and thirty heavier ones such as sack and malmsey. A sharper-tasting ale than the mead of the Middle Ages, known as beer and flavoured with hops, was introduced from the Low Countries during the fifteenth century. Hops were first grown in England in Henry VIII’s reign. According to a traditional rhyme;

Hops, Reformation, bays and beer

Came to England all in one year.⁵

The average yearly quantity of strong beer and ale brewed in England at this time was 4,950,413 barrels. (In 1831, 13,131,000 barrels were brewed, and in 1872 25,350,000).⁶ The growing consumption of beer linked to the spread of alehouses, together with the concomitant increase in ‘the intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth of the realm, daily growing and increasing’, led to the first major Licensing Act in 1552. This laid down the principles of control of the liquor trade, which have survived until the present day. To open a ‘tippling-house’ a licence from two magistrates was needed. It required annual renewal, which the magistrates could deny at will, without assigning cause. This power of suppression was often exercised when the house had been badly run or was

surplus to local requirements. The act, in effect, conferred great power on the magistrates to create and destroy a valuable property. The opportunities for profiteering are obvious, and complaints concerning refusals were made but rarely acted on. The magistrates could also impose any conditions they liked, concerning, for example, opening days or hours, games, music or dancing on the premises. Parliament prescribed no requirements on licensees except that there be 'no tippling and disorder'. An alehouse might have been open all hours in one parish, but in the next, another might have been closed at nine o'clock on weekdays and all day Sunday. One almost universal requirement, however, was that licensed premises should not be 'remote from public observation'.⁷

Wine-shops were usually called 'taverns', and were generally frequented by higher-class people than the alehouses. In the eighteenth century the taverns came under the control of the magistrates who received orders from the Privy Council, royal proclamations and assize judges on circuit.⁸

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I drunkenness became a national problem and was blamed on foreign influence. The Elizabethan punishment was to make offenders parade through the streets in 'the drunkard's cloak', which was a barrel with the bottom knocked out and holes in the sides for the arms. 'Drinking schools' were established in London in the reign of James I, to encourage the 'art' of drinking. A contemporary observer noted one of the drinking customs of the time, 'drinking for a muzzle'. The first man was required to drink one pint, the second two pints, the third three, and so on round the circle until seven was reached, when they started again. It was said that prodigious quantities of from twenty-one to thirty-six pints a head were drunk at a sitting. The penalty for consistent drunkenness under a law of 1604 was a fine of five shillings or six hours in the stocks.⁹

There had been an attempt to construct a centrally supervised system of licensing during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. However, after the civil war there seems to

have been no attempts to revert to such control, and the number of taverns multiplied in the towns and the countryside as ‘the Justices of the Peace [...] were, at the end of the seventeenth century, abandoned entirely to their own devices’. Licences were granted virtually indiscriminately, and once obtained the licensee’s conduct went unregulated. Alehouses supported beggars, idlers, criminals and relatives of magistrates in great number.¹⁰

Nevertheless, mitigating somewhat the influence of strong drink, the first non-alcoholic stimulants made their appearance in the seventeenth century. Coffee, tea and chocolate were all introduced into the British Isles between about 1650 and 1660, and the coffeehouse became an important part of social life, (many of the early ones sold alcoholic drinks as well as coffee, however, and used the façade of the coffee-house to make their beer-selling more respectable). They were not subject to the licensing laws, although tea, coffee and chocolate were considered luxuries and qualified for higher taxation than such ‘necessities’ as beer.¹¹

The new drinks, often recommended two hundred years later as sober alternatives to intoxicating liquor, did not escape criticism. In 1757, Jonas Hanway MP wrote that because of tea;

[...] men were losing their stature, women their beauty, and the very chambermaids their bloom [...]. Will the sons and daughters of this happy isle for ever submit to the bondage of so tyrannical a custom as drinking tea? [...]. It is an epidemical disease. [...] Were they the sons of tea-sippers who won the fields of Crécy and Agincourt or dyed the Danube’s shores with Gallic blood?¹²

Hanway voiced a mistaken belief against which nineteenth-century temperance advocates had to battle hard ? that beer provided a man with strength and character.

Until the mid-seventeenth century, the English drank mainly fermented liquors, beverages such as beer, wine, mead and cider that were produced by relatively natural processes, from the basic fruits of the earth. Distilled spirits later became popular, but were labelled ‘unnatural’ drinks because of man’s intervention through the distillation process. Fermented wines and beer, it was said, had been made by God. The temperance historians made much of the disastrous consequences caused from the very beginning by distilled spirits. John Edgar, for example, stated that;

Lewis XII first gave permission to distil spirits on a large scale. So terrific were the effects, that only 22 years afterwards, Francis, his successor, was obliged, for the safety of his subjects, to enact a law that the drunkard who remained incorrigible after severe monitory punishments should suffer amputation of the ears and be banished from the kingdom.

Assisted by hindsight, he could not resist a moralising lament.

How much more wisely would Francis have acted, if, instead of banishing the drunkard, he had banished the pernicious material of drunkenness!¹³

In Scotland, whisky was first produced around 1500 and quickly became the Scots’ favourite drink. Rum was being manufactured from sugar cane in the West Indies by 1647, and it was from there that English sailors acquired a taste for it. Gin was introduced into England by King William III in 1688 and by English soldiers who served in the Low Countries. Dutch gin was much less potent than English gin. However, the latter became disastrously popular after 1690. In the course of commercial warfare with France, and to create a market for low-grade English corn unsuitable for brewing, the government heavily increased the duty on imported spirits and threw open the distilling and spirit-selling industry to all. The previous statutory obligation of a seven years’ apprenticeship was annulled, and anyone was free to distil on giving notice to the Commissioners of Excise and on paying the low excise duty. Unlike ale-selling, there was

no magistrate's licence needed. The poor, who had previously drunk beer in enormous quantities, cultivated new tastes and habits and turned to spirits. Brandy-shops and 'geneva-shops' multiplied in the poorer parts of London and the big cities. Almost every shop frequented on a daily basis by the poorer classes embarked upon the selling of spirits. Between 1690 and 1701 a series of statutes encouraged the 'patriotic distillers' by levying only a low duty on English spirits, as opposed to 'French and other foreign brandies'. The retailers whose 'principal dealings' were more 'in goods and merchandise than in brandy and strong waters', and who did not 'suffer tippling in their houses', also enjoyed the advantage of exemption from the obligation of quartering soldiers. Innkeepers, keepers of livery stables, victuallers and retailers of strong waters were not so lucky.¹⁴

In 1690, the British spirits legally distilled in England were 543,000 gallons, in 1710, 2,200,000, and in 1729 nearly 5,000,000 gallons. Within a few years after 1690 7,000 dram-shops, or punch-shops, sprang up all over London alone, and as the brewers tried to protect their trade through competition, the number of alehouses also multiplied. By 1740, more than 15,000 of the 96,000 houses in the capital sold drink for consumption on the premises, nearly 9,000 of them gin shops. The annual consumption of spirits in London was now fourteen gallons a head, but the average Londoner still drank ninety gallons of beer a year. There was a 'pandemonium of drunkenness'.¹⁵

A Dublin clergyman related the scenes he witnessed.

Sunday is especially devoted to the worship of this great spirit, Gin, and when the early Sabbath bells announce the arrival of that day, then do the lower orders begin to shake off the beery slumbers of the midnight payable and wander forth in maudlin, unwashed multitudes to the temples of the great Gin; and there you may see them, the aged and the infant [...] old men and maidens [...] fathers and mothers [...] crawling and jostling and sucking in the portion of the spirit which the flaunting priestesses of the temple dole out to them in return for their copper offerings.¹⁶

Smollett's account of the state of London at this time included reference to a common sign found outside gin shops reading: 'drunk for 1d, dead drunk for 2d, straw for

nothing'.¹⁷ Between 1721 and 1750 'there were each year nearly as many deaths from intoxication in London, as there were in the entire thirty years between 1686 and 1715, when spirits were not in general use'. The 1721 excise returns show a remarkable increase in the consumption of spirits, (gin retailed at sixpence a quart), and marked the beginning of the opposition to gin drinking.

The government was slow to act, however, despite the ample evidence of the disastrous consequences of the 'free gin' policy. The warnings from magistrates, physicians, committee and newspaper reports initially went unheeded. The partially successful attempt in 1729 at controlling the situation, through the imposition of a licence fee of £20 and a 2s duty on a gallon of compound spirits, was frustrated after complaints from farmers. The landed interest was greatly supported by the distilling trade, although the largest fortunes were made from malt, not compound distilling. The 1729 Act was repealed in 1733 and the situation worsened. In 1735, the Middlesex Sessions appointed a second committee to investigate the spirit retailers. Its findings were similar to those of its 1726 predecessor. The evil had increased over the ten intervening years. The committee blamed gin for crimes of violence, the drinkers being often 'carried to a degree of outrageous passion'. Neglected children 'starved and naked at home ... either become a burthen to their parishes or ... are forced to beg whilst they are children, and as they grow up learn to pilfer and steal'.¹⁸

Determined action was needed, and in 1736 there was an attempt to stop the retailing of British spirits altogether. A heavy duty of 20s a gallon on spirits, payable by the retailer, and a £50 annual spirit licence were introduced. Riots, full-scale evasion and illicit underground retailing, (at first secret, then open), were the results of this attempt at prohibition. Informers against illicit distillers were hunted down, mistreated and even killed. In seven years, only three licences were taken out. The Act was impossible to

enforce, lost the government £70,000 in revenue, and showed the impossibility of carrying out a measure that completely lacked public support.¹⁹ The teetotaler Joseph Livesey was to show a hundred and twenty years later, as chapter four will show, that he understood the lesson. He consistently spoke out against the imposition of unwanted prohibitionist policies, arguing that legislation without the support of the people was worthless.

A number of successive, gradual restrictions from 1743 to 1751 eventually brought the conditions of gin sale in line with those of beer, greatly reducing the problem of drunkenness as consumption levels fell. The price of spirits gradually rose as duties were increased, and the sale of gin was more openly undertaken, becoming more respectable. The control of licensing was put in the hands of the magistrates, who were only allowed to grant licences at the annual licensing sessions. Distillers, chandlers and grocers were expressly forbidden to sell spirits.²⁰

By the beginning of the nineteenth century spirit drinking, though still a serious problem, was more or less controlled by a policy of suppression. The price of spirits was prohibitively high for most of the poorer people. The terrible scenes caused by gin drinking, so graphically shown in William Hogarth's 1751 illustration 'Gin Lane', gradually became less common. Magistrates had begun a campaign of regulation and suppression of the drink trade in the late 1770s, and enforced the law more strictly. Although the movement had less effect in London, in the counties a rough and ready rule of one public house per village was imposed, and an insistence on 10 p.m. closing in summer and 9 p.m. in winter. There was suppression of surplus licences without compensation. There was to be much discussion about the merits of compensation for the non-renewal of licences in the late nineteenth century.²¹

The regulative and restrictive policy of the 1780s was, however, almost universally condemned by 1816. There are a number of reasons for this, but they centre on

resentment of the brewers' monopoly market position and on the seemingly excessive arbitrary power of the magistrates. The increase in the power of the breweries was causing some concern at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although the tendency towards large-scale brewing was part of the general economic trend of the time. The tied-house system was becoming more generalised. Retailers were gradually ceasing to brew on their premises, and their numbers were restricted in particular areas of the country. This, coupled with 'certain inherent factors in brewing itself' gave brewers powerful motives for purchasing licensed premises outright. Also, the publicans often borrowed money from the breweries to finance the improvements and sureties demanded by the magistrates, and in return contracted to buy all their beer from them. By 1816, half the 'victualling houses' in London were already tied. By 1900, seventy-five percent of all English pubs and beerhouses were tied. There was a belief, however, that the tied house system, by nature monopolistic, encouraged the retailer to offset his financial commitment to the brewer by selling poor, adulterated beer, prejudicing the health of the consumer. (Many of the charges of adding such things as turpentine, logwood, sulphuric acid or 'vitriol', sugar, salt and seeds were later found to have been greatly exaggerated). In 1823 and 1824, Acts were passed to encourage home-brewing, deemed a healthier product, while many magistrates also tried to open up the trade by granting licences to all who applied.²²

The principles of free trade, which were believed to 'increase choice, cheapness and purity of government', were finding increased favour in Britain in the 1820s, and the brewing industry was not exempt from their influence. A policy of 'free licensing' gradually superseded regulation and restriction, culminating in the disastrous 1830 Beerhouse Act where free trade in beer was made official policy. It was believed that high prices, adulteration, smuggling and drunkenness, said by free trade supporters to be the results of government attempts to control the drink industry, would disappear with the

reduction of taxes and duties and the elimination of monopolies. The magistrates, especially in urban areas, began to relax their vigilance of licensed premises, thinking that in this way they would destroy the brewers' monopoly and improve the quality of beer.²³ However, the arbitrary power of the magistrates themselves who, at the Licensing Sessions, could award or refuse an application for a licence seemingly at will, was also coming under attack, especially from Whigs and Radicals;

[for depriving] the working-man of his beer, the honest publican of his means of livelihood, and the brewer of his property, out of mere caprice, and not without grave suspicions of political partisanship and even pecuniary corruption.²⁴

The Webbs recount many instances of arbitrariness and inconsistency in licence-granting. The Tories, on the other hand, did not object to the authority of the magistrates. They were not inclined to interfere with the pleasures of the people, especially if this incurred unpopularity at a time when demands for political reform were increasingly feared. The proven corruption of magistrates in particular areas of London also weighed against their being allowed to wield arbitrary power. The Report of the House of Commons Committee upon the Police of the Metropolis, 1817, with its two volumes of evidence about the brewers' monopoly and the corruption of the Tower Hamlets Justices, 'marks a turning point in licensing practice'.²⁵

There was a decline in magisterial control over the sale of beer at the same time as the duties on spirits suffered a further reduction in 1825, (from 11s 8¼d. to 7s a gallon). The publican's spirit licence was reduced from five guineas a year to two guineas a year for houses under £10 value. Many alehouses in town and country began to sell spirits as well as ale. There was also an increase in the number of alehouses. The sale of whisky in England was legalised for the first time in this year, in an attempt to control smuggling over the Scottish border. An alarming increase in the consumption statistics of spirits

ensued, that may have indicated a real increase in consumption but also reflected a switch from illegal to legal sources. The total United Kingdom spirits revenue rose from under £4,000,000 in the early 1820s to over £5,000,000 in the early 1830s, despite the reduced duty. Spirit consumption rose from 0.6 proof gallons *per capita* in 1820 to 1.2 proof gallons in 1830.²⁶ The horrors wrought by gin in the preceding century were not forgotten by the population, and many believed a return to the excesses of the early 1700s was evident. Blomfield, Bishop of London, said in 1832;

I never saw, when I first came to London, a female coming out of a ginshop; but I have since repeatedly seen females with infants in their arms, to whom they appeared to have been giving some part of their liquor. I almost think I have seen more women than men coming out of these shops.²⁷

The remedy for such a situation was generally believed to be an encouragement of beer drinking.²⁸

Estcourt's Licensing Act of 1828, which remained the basis of licensing law until 1872, continued the tendency to free licensing by restricting the licensing powers of the magistrates. It repealed a number of existing licensing statutes and simplified the law, at the same time leaving the magistrate's position in considerable uncertainty. It had been Estcourt's original intention to abolish the licensing system altogether, but he decided against it when his attention was called to the probable disastrous consequences. The magistrates retained their power of licensing at Licensing (Brewster) Sessions, although an appeal was now allowed to Quarter Sessions. They were given specific powers of interfering and closing a licensed house in cases of riot and tumult, and many magistrates interpreted this to mean that they had no power to intervene otherwise. The Act did not mention weekday closing, and some magistrates believed they no longer had the power to fix closing times. The total number of alehouse licences increased from 47,933 in 1824 to

51,482 in 1830. Those also holding a spirit licence rose from 37,196 in 1824 to 45,675 in 1830.²⁹

There was no strong opposition to a *de facto* policy of free trade in beer immediately before 1830. The few parliamentary members who voiced their opposition, and the 228 petitions that spoke out against the proposed Beer Bill in 1830, were ignored by the government. A predicted increase in drunkenness and crime was considered less important than bringing the drink trade into line with other industries through the adoption of free trade principles, promoting temperance through reduced consumption of spirits, spreading democracy through the establishment of beer-houses free from magisterial control, saving English agriculture through a greater demand for barley and hops, and improving the health of the nation by providing unadulterated beer. Wellington's Tory government believed the establishment of a preventive police force was the way to tackle the expected increase in crime.

The fall in the consumption of beer and the corresponding increase in spirit consumption, evident after the liberalisation of spirits, was felt to have been a body blow to national pride. Beer had always been the traditional drink of the English. It was felt that the nation's physical well being was in jeopardy, for beer was believed to impart strength ? to be a 'necessary of life'. Also, the fall in treasury receipts concomitant with the decreased popularity of beer did not augur well for the government. It was receptive to the idea of encouraging the growth of barley and hops as a sweetener to the landed interest. Heavy taxation was blamed in 1829-1830 for the prevailing economic depression, the government receiving 174 petitions of distress from all over the country. Free trade in beer was therefore a popular measure, serving to relieve the government somewhat after its especially unpopular attack on the free press in 1829.³⁰

The brewers were divided as to free trade in beer. A relaxation in beer taxes was welcomed, but they feared a decrease in the value of their licensed properties in the event of a throwing open of the trade to all-comers. They offered no consistently strong opposition to the policy. The publicans, who stood to lose from the increased competition free trade in beer would bring, were too disorganised to wield much influence. Thus the conditions were ripe for the ‘momentous’ decision to remove the tax on beer and cider, and throw their retail sale completely open. The Duke of Wellington did so in his budget of 1830 and the Beer Act came into force on 10 October of the same year.³¹

The 1830 Beer Act has received much criticism, many people taking their cue from the Webbs, writing around 1903, who described it as ‘a leading case of legislation based on abstract theory [...] without any clear conception of the state of society which it was desired to bring about’, and which brought an unprecedented increase in drunkenness and debauchery. Harrison takes a more open-minded view of the Act and points out the difficulties in obtaining evidence on any social problem at that time (a fact that does not invalidate the Webbs’ criticism). He also points out the reasonableness of the free trade argument ‘for behind the whole campaign lay fear of the smuggler’. This argument does not explain the support of the fifty Whig MPs, vital to the Bill’s passage through parliament, which was based much more on support of free trade principles than on trying to increase revenue to the exchequer.³²

The immediate effect of the 1830 Beer Act was a huge increase in the number of beerhouses ? so-called ‘Tom and Jerry shops’ or ‘tiddlywinks’. A payment of only two guineas was required by the excise office for any householder to obtain a licence to sell beer. All kinds of people took advantage of the opportunity, in town and village alike. Brewers encouraged the selling of beer on however small a scale by advancing the excise fee and giving a cask of beer on credit. 24,342 new beer-sellers had appeared in the first

six months of the new law. Beer was sold in ‘every baker’s and petty chandler’s shop’, in cellars and basements in alleys and town slums, from the roadside, in woodlands or in remote cottages.³³

The competition among beer-sellers and between them and publicans, coupled with the lack of an effective police force, meant that any attempt at enforcing closing hours was effectively abandoned. The law stipulated ten p.m. closing and no opening up before five a.m. on weekdays, but no specifications were given for Sundays, leaving the magistrates little option but to relax their control over public-houses in the face of the ‘competition’ from the beer-houses. Gambling, ‘brutal amusements’ and licentiousness increased along with the degree of drunkenness of the population. The expected decrease in spirit drinking, evident at first, was not sustained. According to the Webbs, the older ‘victualling houses’ strove to stave off the competition from the new beer-sellers by developing the sale of the commodity the former could not provide, spirits. Many of the old alehouses became glorious gin palaces. Indeed, so concerned were some that certain magistrates encouraged new applicants to take out spirit licences as well as beer ones, so that they could exercise some control over the premises (for example at Dartmouth and Torrington, Devon, between 1830 and 1833). Harrison again contradicts the Webbs and claims that the trend towards the ‘gin palace’ began long before 1830, especially in London, and therefore cannot be attributed to the publican’s need to compete with the beershop.³⁴

Harrison points to the nature of the new beershops, generally run by working class ‘half-employed’ people, supplied by the common brewer and catering for the humbler type of labourer. In rural areas, the premises were often cottages. Opposition was thus to be expected from the bigger breweries, publicans who were battling for customers and who often used *agents provocateurs* to convict erring beer sellers, magistrates in

league with the publicans and striving to maintain public order, and the clergy anxious to preserve the morals of the population and to keep the Sabbath holy.³⁵

By 1831, the country beerhouses were blamed for being catalysts of working class disaffection, meeting places for plots and conspiracies. This was very pertinent at a time of rick-burning and general worker dissatisfaction, when there were precious few places for workers to meet, especially in the rural areas. Harrison again explains the social prejudices involved in magisterial / clerical / upper class criticism of the beer shops, noting the lack of blame apportioned to spirits in inciting crime (as seen in the selected quotes in newspapers from the confessions of prisoners), the concentration of rioting in the south-eastern counties, that began before 1830, and the lack of evidence that the beer-sellers had actually inspired rioting themselves. For him, the greatest benefit provided by free trade in beer was a concomitant freeing of leisure from supervision.³⁶

Testimony was forwarded to the new Whig ministry by magistrates, clergymen, church wardens and overseers regarding the general ‘horrors’ of the beer trade but the appeals for repeal of the Act were ignored. The government was not prepared to sacrifice the free trade principle, (which would have brought great unpopularity), for what it regarded as exaggerated, local reports. Not until 1869 did parliament bring all licensed premises once more under the control of the magistrates.

Conclusion

The richest sources of information concerning the early temperance movement are the temperance histories and journals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Not only are the internal conflicts, meetings and general progress of the movement recorded, but also data relating to drink consumption and legislation. Historians with no particular temperance axe to grind were Sydney and Beatrice Webb, (*The History of Liquor Licensing*, 1903), and Brian Harrison, (*Drink and the Victorians*, 1994, and many articles).

Others, like G. B. Wilson, (*Alcohol and the Nation*, 1940), and P. T. Winskill, (*The Temperance Movement and its workers*, vols. I-IV, 1881), had a more or less overt connection to the movement.

Legislation has been used systematically as a means of curbing drunkenness and of controlling the drink industry, especially since the sixteenth century. The issues of licence eligibility, local supervisory powers (police), opening hours, magisterial powers regarding licence issue, Sunday drinking restrictions and taxes on strong drink have all been addressed. Some measures have had to be withdrawn after heated popular protest, for example the 1729 Gin Act, repealed in 1733. Governments have learned that legislating against popular opinion is counter-productive.

Beer became popular in England in the late sixteenth century, and the belief in its strength-giving properties was difficult to displace. Alehouses spread rapidly in the eighteenth century as regulations permitted their widespread establishment. The eighteenth century was also the period of the Gin Craze, graphically illustrated by William Hogarth's well-known 'Gin Lane' (1751).

Given the failure of previous measures to control drink abuse through price control and opening hour restrictions, the best remedy to spirits abuse was thought to be through promoting a healthier alternative — beer. In line with contemporary political thinking that increasingly favoured free trade, 1830 witnessed the passing of an important Beerhouse Act that freed the beer trade, reduced the price, and opened up the retail market, thereby increasing the access. It was to have an important influence on public behaviour until its repeal in 1869.

None of the government measures undertaken from Elizabeth I's reign onwards have succeeded in effectively curbing drink abuse. The twentieth century was similarly

marked by failure in this respect, the problem assuming astounding proportions today, especially among the young.

Due to the failure of local and central government to control drunkenness, and the important social and economic implications of this, the time was ripe for individuals to gather together in an organised movement, in an attempt to alter the situation through education and personal example. The early temperance movement will now be considered.

Reference Notes

Chapter 2.1. Liquor Legislation up to 1830

¹ Other comprehensive histories include Burns, D., *Temperance History* (2 vols. 1889), *The History of Liquor Licensing principally from 1700 to 1830*, 1st pub. 1903 by the non-temperance historians S. & B. Webb, and a somewhat later book by Carter, H., *The English Temperance Movement. A Study in Objectives*, 1933.

² Couling: 1862, p. 9.

³ Burns: 1889a, p. 7. The 1991 Cambridge University Press edition of *Utopia* has the following translation; '[...] cook-shops, the bawdy houses and those other places just as bad, the wine-bars and beer-halls. Look at all the crooked games of chance like dice, cards, backgammon, tennis, bowling and quoits, in which money slips away so fast. Don't all these pastimes lead their addicts straight to robbery?' (More: 1991, p. 20).

⁴ Couling: 1862, p. 12; Longmate: 1968, p. 4.

⁵ Longmate: 1968, p. 13.

⁶ Wilson: 1940, p. 369.

⁷ Couling: 1862, p. 13; quoted in Webbs: 1963, p. 9; *ibid.*, pp. 9-14.

⁸ Webbs: 1963, p. 14.

⁹ Longmate: 1968, p. 6.

¹⁰ Webbs: 1963, p. 16.

¹¹ Longmate: 1968, p. 8.

¹² *Id. ibid.*

¹³ Edgar: 1831, p. 12.

¹⁴ Webbs: 1963, p. 25; Longmate: 1968, p. 9.

¹⁵ Wilson: 1940, p. 192; Longmate: 1968, p. 10; Webbs: 1963, p. 26.

¹⁶ Longmate: 1968, p. 10.

¹⁷ Edgar: 1831, p. 14.

¹⁸ Quoted in George: 1979, p. 47.

¹⁹ Longmate: 1968, p. 11.

²⁰ Webbs: 1963, pp. 40-3.

²¹ Webbs, 1963, pp. 55-90, have a detailed account of the regulation and suppression practised at this time.

²² Gutzke: 1989, pp. 4 & 5; Webbs: 1963, pp. 95-100; Longmate: 1968, pp. 14-15.

²³ Harrison: 1994, pp. 63-4; Longmate: 1968, p. 14.

²⁴ Webbs: 1963, pp. 93-4; See also Harrison: 1994, p. 63.

²⁵ Webbs: 1963, pp. 68-86 & 108.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113; Harrison: 1994, p. 65; Wilson: 1940, pp. 331-2.

²⁷ Quoted in Hammond: 1930, p. 148.

²⁸ Harrison: 1994, pp. 69-71.

²⁹ Webbs: 1963, p. 116.

³⁰ Harrison: 1994, p. 74.

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- ³¹ See Webbs: 1963, pp. 116-123.
³² Webbs: 1963, p. 122; Harrison: 1994, p. 79.
³³ Webbs: 1963, p. 124.
³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130; Harrison: 1994, p. 81.
³⁵ Harrison: 1994, p. 80.
³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

2.2

THE ORIGINS OF THE ANTI-SPIRITS MOVEMENT

By far the majority of men [...] realise all that is best in them when they have paid libation to the god. Generosity, good humour and chivalry are almost invariably stimulated when men drink in the company of their peers.

Lincoln Review, vol. II, 23, July 2 1921, p. 8.

An organised anti-spirits movement promoting temperate behaviour came to fruition in England for the first time in the late 1820s in order to combat ‘the besetting sin’ of drunkenness. It differed from earlier attacks on inebriety in that it was specialised (unlike the eighteenth-century Reformation Societies), and advocated total abstinence from spirits (not moderation). The anti-spirits movement regarded itself as a panacea for some of the most urgent problems of early nineteenth-century England, and cannot be understood before examining the important role played by strong drink of all kinds in the England of the late 1820s and early 1830s.

Changes in attitudes towards strong drink

The temperance movement’s gestation and growth were necessarily conditioned by the mutating social mores of the time. Drunkenness was becoming both increasingly unacceptable and unfashionable at the beginning of the early nineteenth century. Insobriety was used on occasion by the status quo as a stick with which to beat the lower classes. In

1818, it was even used by the author of a leading article of *The White Dwarf* to argue against the adoption of universal suffrage.

[...] what with the mental delusion they receive from [Cobbett, Paine, Wooler and Sherwin], and the physical inebriation which proceeds from an excessive use of beer and spirituous liquors, they are really in a state of the most pitiable degradation.¹

In general, however, the gradual but increasing intolerance shown towards the drunkenness among the lower classes was part of a move towards the encouragement of a more 'respectable' life style that brought with it advantages for both the individual and society as a whole. The move included the establishment of various 'improving' societies like The Lord's Day Observance Society, 1831, and The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1825, as well as the extension of education opportunities and the encouragement of recreational counter attractions.²

According to Francis Place, a self-improving aristocracy of labour, of which he was a member, emerged in London in the 1820s. This was achieved principally through instruction and the extension of education via the Mechanics' Institutes.³ Members of this small aristocracy helped to further the conditions necessary for a more general improvement of the working classes, a form of self help. Francis Place's evidence to the 1834 House of Commons Committee on Drunkenness, or 'Drunken Committee', argued there had been a decrease in drunkenness in the respectable portion of the working class between 1800 and 1834.⁴ Joseph Livesey, on the contrary, stated to the same committee that since the Beer Bill of 1830 drinking had been on the increase.⁵ Both may have been correct, for whilst Place referred to London, Livesey spoke only of the northern manufacturing districts and he concentrated on a particularly eventful period, immediately after the freeing of the drink trade in 1830. The Rev. J. A. Rhodes described in *The West Riding Magazine*, February 1834, a great diminution 'of late years' in 'the examples of

intoxication, set by those in a better condition of life'.⁶ The report of the 1834 'Drunken Committee' agreed, (see chapter 3). It is difficult to ascertain just how far this situation was true. Crime statistics are of little help, for example, for they were not systematically kept, and were unreliable ? the police were not in the habit of arresting the inebriate upper class gentleman on his way home from a night on the town, but the same could not always be said for his social inferior. The fact that upper class social drinking was increasingly confined to home and club also made it difficult to verify any decrease. Whatever the case, the trend away from uncritical acceptance of generalised, public intemperance was certainly evident by the late 1820s.

Drinking places

Harrison has defined five categories of drinking place. In descending order of respectability were the inn, tavern, alehouse, gin shop and beerhouse. The inn accommodated the traveller, the tavern catered for the casual drinker, the alehouse did not sell spirits (unlike the inn and tavern) and had a more respectable clientele than the beerhouse, and the gin shop supplied gin to the urban populations. All depended on the magistrates for their licences except the beerhouse, which was exempt from magisterial control and drew its licence from the Excise. The term 'public house' was applied to the inn and tavern, both being highly respectable in the 1820s and run by licensed victuallers or publicans. Alehouses, gin shops and beerhouses catered for the lower social classes.⁷

Drinking places were multifunctional in Hanoverian England, and not all functions were equally beneficial to the customer. The use made of the drink place to provide small change for weekly wages, and the concomitant practice of paying wages in the public house on a Saturday evening, was certainly fraught with peril for the worker.⁸ Peter

Fairbairn, a 'mechanist' of Leeds who employed between 500 and 600 people, made the following comment on such payments.

Some masters pay at the public-house, others pay the men at the counting-house after the work is completed. The effects produced by payment at the public-house are to oblige the workman to drink. He is kept waiting in the public-house during a long time, varying from two to three hours, sometimes as much as five hours. The workman cannot remain in the house without drinking, even if he were alone, as he must make some return to the landlord for the use of the room. [...] The assembled workmen, of course, stimulate each other to drink. Out of 100 men, all of whom will, probably, have taken their quart of porter or ale, above a third will go home in a state of drunkenness ? of drunkenness to the extent of imbecility. The evil is not confined to men; the destructive habit is propagated in their families. At each public-house a proportion of the poor women, their wives, attend. [...] full 10 per cent of the men have their wives and children in attendance at the public-house. The poor women have no other mode of getting money to market with on Saturday night than attending at the public-house to get it from their husbands.[...] The wives are thus led to drink, and they and their children are made partakers at the scenes of drunkenness and riot; for there are not infrequently quarrels leading to fights between the workmen when intoxicated. [...] They are driven to the inferior shopkeepers who keep open late; and they are also driven to make purchases on the Sunday morning [...] there is no church attendance and no decency.⁹

Drinking places provided lodgings for the military and non-military. Military recruiting still took place there in the 1860s.¹⁰ Coroners' inquests were held there, and they served as doctors' consulting rooms. They were also used as tax collection points. They were places where prostitutes gathered and where many small employers ? hatters, smiths, carpenters, weavers, shoemakers, metal workers, bakers, tailors, glaziers etc., looked for new hands, so called 'houses of call'. Drinking places also acted as centres for passing on local and national news, either by personal encounter or via the newspapers, which could be hired for a small price. The illiterate could have the news read to them. (Dependence on public-house circulation caused most Chartist newspapers to ignore Teetotal Chartism, see chapter 3).

Drinking places were the hub of the leisure wheel and the centre of a variety of leisure pursuits. Recreational clubs of one kind or another took advantage of the cheap

facilities and met there, although this practice gradually diminished as the century progressed. Francis Place wrote in 1829;

Until lately all the amusements of the working people of the metropolis were immediately connected with drinking ? chair clubs, chanting clubs, lottery clubs, and every variety of club, intended for amusement were always held at public-houses. In these clubs, every possible excitement to produce excess was contrived. These are nearly extinct. [...] drinking was encouraged and promoted to a great extent, the money staked being always spent on liquor, or rather in the language of these places, the stake was either a pot of beer or a quartern of gin ... Drunkenness ... was a common habit some fifty or sixty years ago, when all ranks got drunk.¹¹

It was not only the purely recreational clubs that met in the drinking places. Burial clubs, savings clubs and friendly societies made use of these cheap venues, but there were dangers here too, as explained in chapter 1.1. The temptation to spend the money when the savings box was full was often too great, and the publican benefited. In addition, as each member usually had to disburse a certain amount at each weekly / fortnightly meeting for the use of the room, the industrious and abstemious, it was said, were often led astray. In some clubs, a third of the contributions was spent on drink, a fact that was increasingly criticised as the century progressed.¹²

The drinkers

Joseph Livesey wrote in 1824;

All classes in society are addicted to habits of intemperance; the gentleman, the tradesman, the mechanic, in their respective spheres, and even females, forgetting their natural modesty, and breaking through every restraint, are often found intoxicated.¹³

Livesey's remarks on the all-embracing nature of drunkenness are important, for it would have been a simple matter for his contemporaries to stigmatise the lower classes only, whose propensity for abusing drink was evident for it was often of a public nature.

The propertied, moneyed, articulate middle and upper classes could easily have highlighted ‘the others’ without pointing the finger at themselves. However, ‘Drunk as a Lord’ was an apt nineteenth-century saying. The upper echelons of society also frequented drinking places until the 1830s and 1840s, after which it became increasingly less respectable to do so. No bourgeois home was complete without its wine cellar, supplying splendid festive dinners or simple family occasions. No men’s club was imaginable without drinks at all hours. As landed proprietors and gentlemen farmers, often growers of barley, many of the upper classes had an economic interest in the brewing industry as producers as well as consumers of alcoholic drink. Brewing was a growth industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The middle classes increasingly entertained at home, and drink was often indispensable. Taverns and private rooms in drinking establishments were also favourite haunts of the better off, clubs and societies of all descriptions often serving as a pretext for bacchanalian pleasure.

Higher-class women avoided the public gaze and drank in the comfort of their homes or in those of friends/social acquaintances. Tedium and social etiquette must have been responsible for many a tipsy or even alcoholic lady. The *Temperance Journal* of 1839 related the story of the lady who consulted Dr. Cheyne;

[her] fondness for generous living had given her a flushed face and carbuncled nose, [...]. Upon surveying herself in the glass she exclaimed, “Where, in the name of wonder, doctor, did I get such a nose as this?” “Out of the decanter, madam, out of the decanter,” replied the doctor.¹⁴

The low class ‘pot houses’ and common public houses were frequented not only by men but also by the poorer women or prostitutes. These women were often accused of ‘drinking the furniture’, with the connivance of the pawnbroker. This problem was exacerbated in the 1860s after the introduction of Gladstone’s ‘Grocers’ Licence’, which

effectively made it easier for women to gain access to alcohol, and also, many argued, put temptation in their way (see chapter five). The men needed no excuse to frequent their favourite drinking establishment, and did so in great number.

Justifications for taking strong drink

People ‘drank’ for various reasons. The poor quality, paucity or expense of substitutes to alcoholic drinks – water, milk, soda water, ginger beer, tea and coffee, often invalidated them as viable alternatives to beer, wine and spirits at the beginning of the period under study, 1830. Water was far from being a healthy, reliable replacement for liquor. Easy access to a good, clean water supply was still a long way from fruition in 1830. Instead, inhabitants (especially of large towns and cities) were often faced with a highly deficient, contaminated, and lethal water supply up to the late nineteenth century. Prudence dictated drinking as little of it as possible. *The Ladies' Assistant* said that London pump-water contained impurities from ‘cellars, burying-grounds, common sewers, and many other offensive places’. Water obtained from water-sellers, coming from the Thames or the New River, could be ‘very often muddy, or taste strongly of weeds and leaves’.¹⁵ It was so difficult to find drinking water in London in the 1820s that there were professional water-carriers to provide it. London brewers, anxious to prevent their own wells from drying up, opposed the sinking of deep wells for public supply, and London publicans were often the only slum-dwellers possessing their own water supply. London had few public water pumps in the early 1800s, the impetus for providing them only gaining momentum in the metropolis and large cities from the 1850s. The majority of urban areas had piped water supplies by 1914, although only 38 per cent of the rural parishes had a partial supply by that time.¹⁶

There was a general shortage of cheap, unadulterated milk in Hanoverian England. This was more problematic in the urban than the rural areas. Milk was a dangerous drink even when fresh. The quality of town milk suffered because cattle were kept in cramped suburban quarters and fed with poor-quality grain. Price was also an impediment to consumption. At Lancing College in 1848, milk was twice the price of beer. Milk in the northern industrial towns of the 1830s, though cheaper than in London, was 'but little used'. Adulteration was a major problem, some of the additives used being positively harmful. There was also a tendency to dilute milk in order to increase profits.¹⁷

Alternatives such as soda water (which first appeared in the 1790s) or commercially produced ginger beer were not produced in large quantities in the first half of the nineteenth century, and so did not threaten the alcoholic drink market. Joseph Livesey remarked in 1832;

What appears to be most wanting to perfect the character of a Temperance Society are "Temperance Houses", or Coffee rooms as they are called in Scotland. If suitable places were fitted up, where persons could spend a social hour in the evening, or where they could transact business; where travellers could be accommodated without being under any inducement to take intoxicating liquor, and where such an article was not sold, ? a great advantage would be gained to the cause of Temperance. Such places, including a reading room, and conveniences for eating, I have no doubt would answer well, and would be a speculation attended with profit. No Temperance Society, in my opinion, is complete without them.¹⁸

The popularity of tea in the late eighteenth century had closed many London coffee houses, but from the 1820s to the 1850s the consumption of coffee rose faster than that of tea, its closest rival. The tax reductions of 1801 and 1825 made coffee more competitive. In 1815, London possessed not more than ten or twelve coffee-houses, but by 1841 between 1,600 and 1,800 could be found, catering for all classes including the poorest working men. The need to keep smuggling to a minimum meant that governments were reluctant to raise taxes on alcoholic imports such as Scottish whisky. Thus, in 1830 a

pint of coffee cost 3d or 4d whereas a quart of gin cost only 3½d and a quart of ale cost around 5d. Gross consumption of coffee more than doubled during the 1820s, but this has to be seen in the light of the *per capita* statistics for the consumption of beer and spirits, which were far higher. These were 0.96 lb. of coffee and 1.41 lb. of tea consumed as opposed to 23.1 gallons of beer and 1.13 proof gallons of spirits in 1834.

By the 1850s, coffee was supplanted by tea, which had fallen in price and became virtually a necessity for working people. Cocoa, although more expensive than tea or coffee at 4d a cup, enjoyed increased demand after 1842. It was manufactured by several Quaker temperance reformers, for example the Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree families. Its consumption increased even more than tea and coffee after the innovations of the Cadburys in the 1860s.¹⁹

Great Britain was ‘plagued’ by a great variety of drinking customs. They were an important means of reinforcing the traditional drinking ethos. At fairs and markets, bargains were sealed with a drink, and tradition demanded a great bout of drinking at funerals, baptisms, marriages, and on initiation into a new state of life (magistrates first joining the Bench, for example). These were all occasions for ‘tippling’. Drinking customs were embedded in most trades, being especially prevalent among apprentices and self-employed craftsmen like hatters, tailors and shoemakers. John Dunlop, a Greenock magistrate, wrote *The Philosophy of Artificial and Compulsory Drinking Usage in Great Britain and Ireland*, 1839, as part of his anti-usage campaign. He described in detail 300 drinking uses in 98 different trades, from cabinet-makers and female hat manufacturers to salmon fishers. The latter, for example, had a drinking feast for every new member, paid for by the proceeds of the sale of the old ropes. Each apprentice paid a shilling the first time he cast his net successfully. Dunlop referred to;

[...] the thousand ways in which fellow-workmen can tyrannize over and maltreat their companions in labour, which cannot easily be described; and [the] great variety of degrees of injury, between the sneer at the imputed meanness of attempting to avoid the journeyman's entry, and the knock-down blow and blood of a quarrel picked for the purpose of enforcing some other drinking usage.²⁰

Dunlop's work was acknowledged nationwide, and he became the foremost public speaker on the usage system. He was not the only protesting voice. The Hand-loom Commissioners in 1838 described drinking to excess as;

[...] common to all trades, and some more than others [...]. It is extraordinary the number of drinking usages among the working classes to which custom has given the force of an irresistible law. It is to these usages, more than the temptation of liquor, that the sober and industrious are led imperceptibly to form habits of intemperance. [...]. For a single individual to oppose himself to these customs is only to subject himself to serious annoyances and sometimes to personal injury.²¹

As the report underlined, it was very difficult for anyone in the early nineteenth century to renounce the standard social customs of the day. By doing so, he would be cutting himself off from the mainstream of society and leaving himself open to social ostracism, or worse. The customs slowly began to disappear with the extension of education to the lower social classes and, largely due to the temperance reformers, a greater awareness of the wastefulness and harm of such practices.

Alcohol acted as a transport to oblivion. 'Drink is the quickest way out of Manchester' was a popular Victorian saying.²² The arduous, unpleasant work, typical of the newly industrialised towns, encouraged drinking. Thomas Barlow, tailor, aged 52, described the routine of a typical establishment like Messrs. Allen's of Old Bond Street. Due to the excessive heat generated by the irons, the lack of ventilation and the close, cramped atmosphere;

[...] we had recourse to drink as a stimulant. We went into the shop at six o'clock in the morning; but at seven o'clock, when orders for the breakfast were called for, gin was brought in, and the common allowance was a half-

a-quartern. The younger hands did not begin with gin. [At eleven] some took beer, some took gin again. In a general way, they took a pint of porter at eleven o'clock. It was seldom the men took more than the half-quartern of gin. [At three o'clock] some took beer and some gin, just the same as in the morning. At five o'clock the beer and gin came in again, and was usually taken in the same quantities. At seven o'clock the shop was closed. [...] Nearly all the young men went to the public-house, and some of the others [after work].²³

Familiarity with the sickness and death constantly present in the crowded, unhealthy areas where so many lived, and the uncertainty of what the next day would bring, meant that the inhabitants of the slums cared less for possible future gains and more for immediate relief. Drinking was a favourite means of escape. A public house was paradise compared to the average working man's home and enabled him to forget his miseries in convivial company, relatively cheaply. The chairman of the Bedford union put it very well in 1841, in a letter to the Assistant-Commissioner of the district.

A man who comes home to a poor, comfortless hovel after his day's labour, and sees all miserable around him, has his spirits more often depressed than excited by it. He feels that, do his best, he shall be miserable still, and is too apt to fly for a temporary refuge to the alehouse or beer-shop.²⁴

Yet escape from strong drink was not always possible. Even when incarcerated, strong drink had its place. Prisons were notorious places of drunkenness and riot in the early nineteenth century. Intemperance resulted from the freely available drink much as drug abuse in contemporary prisons continues as long as there is a supply. Although a clause in a 1751 Act forbade selling alcohol in prisons, it was largely ignored and later rendered null by extensive smuggling. Prisoners often held 'open house' and invited outsiders to parties and other entertainment at which alcoholic drink featured strongly. It was a business enterprise for the wardens, and common currency for securing better 'accommodation'. According to Dorothy George, 'in the King's Bench there were at one time no less than thirty gin shops, and in 1776 120 gallons of gin were sold weekly besides other spirits and eight butts of beer a week'.²⁵

Alcoholic liquor, especially beer, was commonly thought to aid physical stamina, virility and general good health. So deep-seated was the belief in its beneficial health properties that employers often distributed beer when extra effort was needed, and it was indispensable in country areas during harvest time. This practice began to weaken from the late 1830s, as industrial employers gradually recognised the negative effects excessive drinking had on production. Edwin Chadwick, in his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, 1842, stated that William Fairbairn of Manchester, who engaged between one and two thousand workers in the ‘manufacture of machinery’, strictly prohibited the use of beer or fermented liquors of any sort, including tobacco. Any man found transgressing the rule would be instantly discharged ‘without allowing him time to put on his coat’. In reply to the question, ‘Are you aware that it is a prevalent opinion that strong drink is necessary as a stimulus for the performance of labour?’ Fairbairn replied;

I am aware that that was a prevalent opinion amongst employers of labour, but it is now very generally abandoned; there are nevertheless some foundries in which there is drinking throughout the works all day. [...] I have provided water for the use of men in every department of the works. [...] In general the men who drink water are really more active, and do more work, and are more healthy than the workmen who drink fermented liquors.²⁶

Doctors regularly prescribed spirits, especially brandy, for a variety of ailments including indigestion, cholera and influenza, or simply as a tonic. This practice was carried out in hospitals too, where spirits were given to patients not only as a painkiller in the days before anaesthetics, but also as a drink in preference to water. (This may not have been so detrimental early in the century, given the poor quality of the water). One of the biggest battles fought by the temperance reformers was to convince people, especially medical practitioners, of the mistaken belief that alcoholic drink was medicinal. Chadwick stated that;

In one of the returns from Scotland it is observed that with the people, whether for a fever, a cold, or consumption, or a pleurisy, whiskey is the universal antidote. The popular belief that fermented liquor or ardent spirits are proper antidotes to the effects of damp or cold has been universal, and not wanted of medical sanction. Out-door allowances of beer had been prescribed by some medical officers in Scotland in marshy and undrained districts as 'the proper preservatives against ague and rheumatism.' [...] It is now beginning to be observed in several dangerous occupations that temperance is the best means of withstanding the effects of the noxious agencies which they have to encounter.²⁷

A lack of sound, scientific evidence excuses this medical practice to a certain extent. However, the medical profession as a whole was slow to change in the face of increasing scientific proof as to the harmful effects of alcohol on the body. The scientific data necessary for establishing a *bone fide* case against the widespread belief in the health-giving properties of alcoholic drinks was provided in 1860, and in part translated into English in 1861. The results of research by French medical professors Lallemand, Perrin and Duroy showed that nearly all alcohol passed through the body unchanged, and was not an element of respiration as previously thought. It was neither nourishing nor heat-producing.²⁸

Arguments in favour of temperance

Health

Temperance advocates claimed that the healthy human body did not require intoxicating liquors, as proved by experience, observation and medical opinion. Wholesome food and cooling drinks alone were essential nutrition. This argument was constantly put forward in both a positive effort to encourage people to improve their eating and drinking habits, and a more negative attempt to stop people imbibing 'harmful' products. Whereas moderate drinking provoked what *The Preston Temperance Advocate* described as 'the faltering tongue, the incoherent language, the staggering walk, and

general distortion of the frame', the effects of extensive, prolonged drinking were said to be much worse. An early grave was the inevitable end to a drunkard's career, whether through the poisonous effects of habitual drinking or through capital punishment after a drink-induced crime.²⁹ Many temperance newspapers had a section of 'Dreadful Deaths caused by Drink' where the horrific details of decline and fall, or accidental fatality were graphically recorded. These were aimed more at prevention than cure, for most of the readers would have been moderate drinkers and/or temperance sympathisers.³⁰

Despite the paucity of medical support for temperance around 1830, some voices had been lifted against strong drink by a relatively few members of the medical profession. Doctor Thomas Trotter, as early as 1788, was one of the first men to describe habitual drunkenness as a disease in his 230-page *Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, on Drunkenness, and its effects on the Human Body*, 1804.³¹ The essay is understandably bereft of much basic scientific data available to us today, and contains inaccuracies. He states that 'the component parts of alcohol are not sufficiently known'. However, he ably describes at length the symptoms of drunkenness, the manner in which 'vinous spirit' affects the body, the 'catalogue of diseases' induced by drunkenness and the method of correcting the drinking habit and treating drunken paroxysm. He points an accusing finger at his own profession, stating that many become addicted after taking too many 'spiritous [*sic*] tinctures as medicines, rashly prescribed for hysterical and hypochondriacal complaints'. Despite the possible dangers, cited by many, arising from withdrawing all strong drink from the habitual drunkard, Trotter advocated just such an action. This was because he believed the physical consequences of continued hard drinking to be ultimately fatal, and 'the habit of intoxication belongs to the mind'. The body is harmed by the constant drinking of alcoholic beverages, but 'the mind receives pleasure'. Trotter advised that a total cut in consumption was the safest option in order to restore health. This opinion

is reinforced by articles written by Dr. I. Reid in the *Monthly Magazine*, February 1810, and Dr. Rush of Philadelphia in *European Magazine*, March 1810, who advocated the same course of action. 'It is plain, from these authorities, that our opinions are fast extending among professional men'. Indeed, the same methodology is used today by Alcoholics Anonymous.³²

Doctors had to be convinced of the destructive properties of alcohol. A change in attitude was only possible after a slow process of debate based on scientific research. Temperance advocates realised the importance of obtaining sound medical backing from the beginning and took every opportunity to use the testimony of doctors to support their claims. They badgered other medical men into publicly supporting the cause. The following extract is from an address delivered at a temperance meeting by Mr De Loude, surgeon dentist, of Wolverhampton.

Cast your eyes on the habitual dram drinker, with his limbs decrepid by the gout, his reins and bladder tortured with the stone; the great glands full of putrifying sores; his secretious liver swollen to an enormous load; his dropsical belly protuberant like a ton; his asthmatic lungs panting for breath; his shrivelled ghastly countenance discoloured into blackish yellow by the jaundice; his hollow eyes unable to bear the light; trembling with horror at the thoughts of death.³³

Financial benefits

Temperance advocates claimed that the financial benefits of temperance extended from the individual to other members of the family, leading to improved family harmony and consequent social benefits.³⁴ (It is interesting to note the common temperance assumption that savings on drink would automatically be channelled into 'better' uses, and not used to sustain another dissipating habit). It was argued that there would be more money in the pocket for food, clothes etc. Improved food production would result, as cereals would be

diverted from beer and spirit production into bread and other eatables. On the other hand, by not buying intoxicating drinks, financial assets would not be wasted on concomitant evils such as gaming and debauchery, property would not have to be mortgaged, businesses could be saved and bankruptcy avoided. According to the writer of *The Cost of Intemperance*, a hundred million pounds a year could be saved by the nation.³⁵ The expenses of lost time and labour, ship wrecks, lawyers' and doctors' bills and so forth were included in this huge estimate. Economies would be possible on a local level, too, through reduced poor rates, for the sober poor would be better able to care for themselves. Also, there would be increased economic output and employment due to a more efficient workforce, (through reduced worker time loss and more disciplined workers), and increased trade. Both large, industrial concerns and small, local tradesmen would benefit from the temperance practices resulting in an expanded internal market.

Reputation

For the sake of one's reputation, and that of the nation, it was held that temperance should be adopted. By so doing, many formerly wealthy people would not have to flee the country in disgrace or be forced to leave as punishment for drink-related offences. It was common practice to compare the public behaviour of inhabitants of other countries, especially Muslim, to the detriment of the inebriate British. National pride demanded a sober nation. 'Few persons [...], can have failed to perceive that striking difference between the drinking propensities of our population, and the inhabitants of other portions of the civilized world'. For the more extreme temperance advocates, the sake of 'the public mind' was a good reason to adopt their principles. They recalled that its diseased state was evident by the eagerness with which people thronged to the theatres,

read 'imaginative and exciting' books, and generally avoided any pursuit requiring 'mental labour'.³⁶

Decreased crime

It was argued that temperance would lead to a safer society with less crime and fewer incapacitated people incarcerated in asylums and workhouses. As more people joined the temperance societies, it was possible to cite their beneficial effects. Crime statistics and magistrates' reports were increasingly produced and were given special mention in the temperance literature. For example, Livesey's article 'Intemperance', spoke of Judge Hale's comments.

I have found [...] that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes and other great enormities that have happened, were divided into five parts, four of them are the issues and product of excessive drinking, and tavern or ale-house meetings.³⁷

A further example often quoted in the temperance press concerned the comments made in the report to the magistrates by the chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, the Rev. J. Clay, in 1834. After conversing directly with the individuals in Preston jail, he concluded that the vast majority blamed drink for their misfortune.³⁸ He later correlated a decline in drink-related crime in Preston with the establishment of the Preston Temperance Society, 'founded for the express purpose of closing the greatest inlet to crime'. Rev. Clay was not unbiased, however, for he was an active member of the society. He chaired the fourth anniversary meeting of the Preston Temperance Society on March 30 1836.³⁹

Another oft-quoted official comment concerned the Lancaster August 1835 Assizes, that were the seventh consecutive without a case of capital felony from Preston, a town of at least 40,000 inhabitants.⁴⁰ The Preston *Morning Chronicle* of December 10,

1835 also alluded to this fact, and that a magistrate (Justice Alderson) had attributed the cause ‘chiefly to the influence of the Temperance Society’. It is interesting at this point to note a refutation from an angry ‘inhabitant of Preston’ in the December 12, 1835 issue of the same newspaper, for it shows a comparatively rare, stinging rebuttal of the effusive temperance claims of the time. Revealing a marked aversion to temperance societies and the ‘ridiculously self-dubbed’ teetotallers, the ‘string of fables’ referred to in the *Morning Chronicle* were challenged. Amongst the many refutations it was asserted that Preston had sent *fewer* prisoners to jail, in proportion to her population, than either Liverpool or Manchester, and was not therefore the most crime-ridden town in the north; had witnessed an increase in beer drinking despite the Temperance Society because ‘ale is cheaper, wages are good, and working people can better afford it’; the amount of fines for casual drunkenness on the street had increased from 1834 to 1835; no judge had ever referred to the transformation in Prestonians from ‘the most drunken and proliferate’ of people to ‘the most sober and orderly’; and a ‘considerable number’ of criminals had been sent to Lancaster assizes, some for ‘misdemeanours arising chiefly out of drunkenness at the last election’.⁴¹

Personal salvation

To avoid meeting God and being damned to ‘a drunkard’s doom’ people were advised to be forever sober. The Bible was cited as supporting teetotalism through passages such as 1 Corinthians 6:9-11, where St. Paul advised drunkards that they would not be admitted into the kingdom of God. The following passages were also favourites; Leviticus 10:9, Numbers 6:3, Judges 13, Luke 1:15 and Jeremiah 35. The spectre of fire and damnation was conjured up to terrify the meek: ‘If God judge the world in

righteousness, and gives to every man according to his works, where can you expect your portion, but in the lake of fire prepared for the workers of iniquity'.⁴²

The following are individual testimonies of two reformed characters, made at a single meeting at Preston on October 3, 1834.⁴³

Henry Newton said: "I go regularly to a place of worship, and feel quite satisfied".

R. Catton: "My house, which was a place of cursing and swearing, is now a house of prayer".

Increased piety was often cited as a valuable by-product of temperance, not least by the former 'sinners' themselves, as the above quotations show. At a time when the established church was suffering from a serious depletion in attendance, temperance was portrayed as one way of bringing the lost sheep back to the fold. (Of course, many attended Non-Conformist churches and not the Church of England). The originators and principal proponents of the early temperance societies belonged very largely to the Christian Churches. The early promoters were, effectively, 'Christian crusaders', fighting against a system they saw as degrading to man, dishonouring to God, and obstructive of the salvation promised in the Gospel.

The Evangelicals

The anti-spirits movement profited from the techniques of agitation perfected by evangelical humanitarians. Their anti-slavery movement in particular (1787-1833), with its processions, petitioning campaigns and permanent committees, helped to mobilise and condition the public, making it receptive to the imposition of pressure tactics on the government. The Quakers J. J. Gurney, James Cooper, Samuel Bowley, Joseph Sturge, R.

T. Cadbury and many others were both anti-slavery and anti-spirits campaigners. Just as factory reformers compared the situation of overseas slaves to factory workers at home, so anti-spirits campaigners talked of 'the slave drink'. A comparison was drawn by a Methodist minister, Rev. Shrewsbury, between support for the abolition of slavery and the abolition of alcoholic drink, licensed by the government. He claimed that as slavery was abolished, so should alcoholic beverages be, even against the will of the people.

What is Gin, what is Whiskey, what is Rum, what is wine, what is Beer, to as many in our land as you have emancipated in the West Indies, but slavery-drink all the year through! Ought this to be licensed? Even if the people will have it, ought any professedly CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT to allow them to have it by law? To legalise the sale of it? [...] [We should] be as earnest and persevering in our efforts to emancipate our countrymen, as Wilberforce and his noble compeers were to procure the freedom of the swarthy sons of Africa.⁴⁴

Conclusion

When inebriety, its causes and consequences, became the subject of public debate, then the stage was set for change. A better-educated population driven by new economic values found drunkenness at all levels of society increasingly unacceptable for a variety of reasons. Some were prepared to renounce spirits and organise themselves into a national movement in order to change the drinking habits of most of the English people.

The task before the early temperance pioneers was a formidable one. Drinking customs were well rooted in society, and were evident in all spheres of life. Dunlop first showed how endemic they were in a major piece of research that became a cornerstone of temperance teaching. Drink was present at baptisms, christenings, weddings and burials. It was part of trade customs (promotions, initiations etc.), and used liberally simply to quench thirst while working. Its omnipresence and its addictive properties ensured that frequent

imbibing generated a demand for more. Alternatives were often unreliable and of poor quality, sometimes positively harmful. Unboiled water was certainly not to be trusted until after mid-century. Tea and coffee were relatively expensive.

The facilities offered by the inn, tavern, alehouse, gin shop or beerhouse, at a time of scarce alternative public venues, were unrivalled up to the 1850s. Apart from being a refuge from a drab, miserable home, many drinkers were enticed to the drinking place by the clubs/societies that met there, by the conviviality to be found, or simply by the need to receive their wages or look for employment.

The benefits of a spirits-free, moderate lifestyle obviously took some time to get across to the population. The health, financial, criminal and personal salvation temperance arguments met with either indifference or opposition. Nevertheless, persistence and optimism were key words to the early, largely middle and upper class temperance advocates, and they never tired of pointing out that poverty could be reduced if the working classes would only stop wasting their money on alcoholic drink.

The roots of the anti-spirits movement have been examined. The societies themselves will now be looked at.

Reference Notes

Chapter 2.2. The Origins of the Anti-spirits Movement

¹ Jan. 31 1818, pp. 145-50.

² Harrison: 1994, p. 88.

³ *'Drunken Committee' evidence*: 1834, pp. 223 & 226-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 223 & 226-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 117 & 120.

⁶ *The West Riding Magazine; OR Journal of Literature, Religion, Science, and Art*, no. 11, Feb. 1834, p. 1.

⁷ Harrison: 1994, p. 45. Harrison gives a detailed account of the role played by drink in English society in the immediate pre-temperance movement period, the 1820s, (Harrison: 1994, pp. 38 – 62).

⁸ See George: 1979, pp. 287-291.

⁹ Quoted in Chadwick: 1965, p. 311.

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- ¹⁰ Harrison: 1994, pp. 320-1.
- ¹¹ Quoted in George: 1979, p. 281.
- ¹² Harrison: 1994, p. 53; George: 1979, pp. 292-4.
- ¹³ Livesey: 1824, p. 2.
- ¹⁴ *Temperance Journal*, Aug. 24 1839, p. 295.
- ¹⁵ Oddy: 1990, p. 264.
- ¹⁶ Harrison: 1994, p. 38.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- ¹⁸ *Moral Reformer*, vol. II, 1832, pp. 115-6.
- ¹⁹ See Harrison: 1994, pp. 39-40 & 293-5 for the development of non-intoxicating cordials and the rising popularity of tea and coffee.
- ²⁰ Dunlop: 1839, p. 59.
- ²¹ *Report on Hand-Loom Weavers*, 1840, XXIV, p. 698, quoted in George: 1979, pp. 281-2.
- ²² Shiman: 1986, p. 3.
- ²³ Quoted in Chadwick: 1965, p. 168.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 324.
- ²⁵ George: 1979, p. 291.
- ²⁶ Chadwick: 1965, p. 314.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.
- ²⁸ Quoted in *Report of the Executive Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance 1861*: p. 7. These annual reports are hereafter referred to as *Executive Reports*.
- ²⁹ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, Sept. 1834, p. 65. All references to this journal are taken from bound annual copies.
- ³⁰ See, for example, 'Etchings from Life' in *Temperance Penny Magazine*, Sept. 19 1835, p. 63. An inebriated man fell whilst running across a London street and later died from wounds inflicted by the knife he had concealed in his pocket as a drunken joke.
- ³¹ All references are taken from the 4th ed., 1810; See Harrison: 1994, pp. 89-90 for Trotter and other early temperance medical men.
- ³² Trotter: 1810, pp. 69, 190, & 198-201.
- ³³ *Havoc! Havoc! c.* 1834, p. 3.
- ³⁴ See, for example, the pamphlet *On the Pernicious Effects of Intoxicating Drinks*, in BCL.
- ³⁵ *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1832, p. 219. Similar calculations of huge national savings abounded in the temperance literature of the nineteenth century.
- ³⁶ *Temperance Journal*, March 30 1839, p. 107. All extracts from this journal are taken from a bound volume for 1839, published by the New British and Foreign Temperance Society.
- ³⁷ 'Intemperance', *The Moral Reformer*, no. 4, April 1 1832, p. 105.
- ³⁸ *The Temperance Advocate* in *The Moral Reformer*, vol. III no. 11, Nov. 1 1833, pp. 354-5. *The Temperance Advocate*, published by Livesey, was issued as part of *The Moral Reformer* from August to December 1833. After this, *The Moral Reformer* ceased and *The Temperance Advocate* was published in its own right.
- ³⁹ Teare: 1847, p. 29.
- ⁴⁰ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, Nov. 1835, pp. 90-1.
- ⁴¹ *Preston Chronicle*: Dec. 12 1835.
- ⁴² 'Intemperance', *The Moral Reformer*, no. 4, April 1 1832, p. 107.
- ⁴³ Pearce: 1885, p. xc.
- ⁴⁴ Rev. Shrewsbury: 1839, p. 10.

2.3

ANTI-SPIRITS SOCIETIES 1828-1832

Temperance Societies disclaim all connexion with party; they use no weapon but truth; they court investigation; they wage no war with persons or professions, but only with opinions and practices; they deal with human consciences, and their sphere is the region of mind; they require no oaths or vows of any kind, but simply an expression of present conviction and determination. Their whole constitution is before the public in one short sentence: We resolve to abstain from distilled spirits, and to discountenance the causes and practices of intemperance.

Edgar, J., *A Complete View of the Principles and Objects of Temperance Societies*, 1831, p. 44.

Not all alcoholic drink was considered evil by the temperance advocates of the late 1820s. Beer, the national beverage, and its offshoots ale¹⁴⁹ and porter, along with wine, were never considered in the same category as distilled spirits. Beer, in fact, was said to be the temperance drink. It was distilled spirits that bore the blame for most of the wretchedness caused by intemperance. Thus, total abstinence from spirits and controlled, moderate drinking of other alcoholic liquor was thought to be the best way to eradicate drunkenness and ‘awaken public attention to the incalculable and increasing evils of intemperance’.¹⁵⁰ The movement was later labelled ‘moderation’ or ‘anti-spirits’ to distinguish it from the subsequent teetotal organisation that advocated abstinence from *all* intoxicating liquor.

The first temperance societies were not concerned with reclaiming drunkards, although ex-drunkards were welcomed as members, for reclamation was felt to be a near impossible feat. Indeed, many early temperance reformers believed that the drunkard was to blame for his situation. This sat well with their view that alcoholic drink *in itself* was not

evil. This freed the seller from any responsibility for its disastrous consequences. Drink-selling was, in fact, regarded by the early temperance advocates as a legitimate trade. In this way it was possible to have wine merchants and brewers on the anti-spirits societies' subscription lists, or even operating in a more active capacity within the societies.¹⁵¹

The first anti-spirits societies and their promoters

The United States of America, Ireland and Scotland all had temperance societies before England. A quick survey of these very first societies will afford a general view of the global context into which the English temperance movement was born.

'To the Christian philanthropists of the New World, belongs the honor of having originated and reduced to practice, the idea of Temperance Societies'.¹⁵² The first temperance society was established in Boston, USA, on February 13 1826. More societies were quickly formed so that by May 1831 there were 'about 3,000', with 'at least 300,000 members'.¹⁵³ The first anti-spirits society in Great Britain was established by the Congregational minister G. W. Carr, in New Ross, Ireland, on August 14 1829. It required total abstinence from spirits and moderation in other drinks. However, the earliest important temperance advocate in Ireland was Dr John Edgar.

When he founded the Ulster Temperance Society in 1829, Edgar was in his thirties, an energetic and eloquent minister of the established church, and opponent of slavery. He wrote many temperance tracts and spoke at many temperance meetings all over Britain. However, he strongly opposed the later move to a more radical approach to drunkenness, teetotalism, and eventually retired from temperance work.¹⁵⁴ He wrote thus of the result of spirits abuse;

Uproar and blasphemy, groans and shrieks of agony, rise everywhere, as this fiery torrent pours on in wild destructive rage: beggary and disease, and crime, madness and death, follow behind: and widows, and orphans, and bereaved parents, look on in despair, as husbands, and fathers, and beloved children, are swept away on this lava flood to the lake that burns with fire.¹⁵⁵

John Dunlop, mentioned in chapter 2.2, was a wealthy, evangelical magistrate and anti-usage campaigner who established the first Scottish anti-spirits society in Greenock, in October 1829.¹⁵⁶ Along with the Presbyterian Scotsman William Collins, he was a prime spreader of temperance principles throughout Britain. According to the Bradford Temperance Society, by 1832 there were 150 temperance societies in Ireland with 26,000 members. In Scotland there were 351 societies with 50,802 members by the same year.¹⁵⁷

Through the influence of American seamen, temperance principles were first introduced into England via Liverpool in 1829, (the temperance society itself was only established there on May 12 1830). In February 1830, the first English temperance society was established in Bradford. Henry Forbes, a Scottish worsted manufacturer who had settled in Bradford and who was later to become its third Lord Mayor, made a business trip to Glasgow in November 1829 and was impressed by the temperance ideas he encountered. He strove to promote them in his home town but was met with little initial enthusiasm, his ideas being considered somewhat ‘utopian’ and ‘visionary’. However, he persisted in distributing tracts and conversing with people until he managed to get together nine who were willing to go along with his ‘novel scheme’, take the pledge and establish a temperance society. This was on February 2 1830. At a meeting on February 5 many more signed, and the Bradford Society for Promoting Temperance began its work. Besides several local speakers, Dr. Edgar and William Collins gave addresses at the first public meeting of the society on June 14 1830. John Rand, J.P. was elected president. A treasurer and a committee of thirty-two, including nine clergymen and four medical men, were also appointed. There were 1,800 people present, many released early from work by

sympathetic worsted manufacturers. The speakers 'held the audience until almost midnight'. 'Several influential gentlemen' signed the pledge in consequence of the speeches, and the way was paved for the dissemination of 'the message' throughout the country.¹⁵⁸

The Bradford Temperance Society strove to establish societies elsewhere rather than to promote the cause locally. Seventeen thousand tracts were distributed by the society in a few months, along with copies of Dr. Lyman Beecher's famous 'Six Sermons on Intemperance'. These temperance sermons, written and preached by 'the best and most powerful preacher in New England', were first given in the Congregational Church at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1826. They became very popular both in the USA and Great Britain.¹⁵⁹

They have rarely been equalled, and never surpassed, by any pulpit efforts on the question of temperance. He hammered thunderbolts and hurled them into his flaming forge, while his ringing anvil awoke, alarmed and affrighted, the guilty traffickers in intoxicating drinks.¹⁶⁰

The second society formed in England was at Warrington, on April 4 1830. On May 12 a further society was formed at Manchester. It was so successful that its membership was estimated at between 1,200 and 1,500 by the end of 1831. On July 22 and September 9 others were set up at Liverpool and Leeds. Bolton, Birmingham, Newcastle and Bristol (soon to become the stronghold of the movement in the west) followed. By December 1834, the membership of temperance societies for England and Wales was said to be 101,633.¹⁶¹

Supporters of anti-spirits societies

Support for anti-spirits societies was evident in industrial areas like Lancashire and Yorkshire, but also to a lesser degree in rural ones like Lincolnshire, Cornwall and North Wales. Even though industrial employers sometimes ostracised their abstaining employees, there was a link between industry, especially the woollen and textile industries, and support for the anti-spirits societies. The first British anti-spirits societies emerged in the textile manufacturing centres of Ulster and Glasgow and spread through England via Bradford, Leeds and Preston. Textile and woollen manufacturers, especially nonconformist ones, supported the early anti-spirits movement by supplying leadership, financial support and by positively encouraging workers to participate. The successful Quaker industrialist Sir Titus Salt of Saltaire, Bradford, was one pioneer industrialist, philanthropist and promoter of progressive work practices who also actively encouraged temperance in his work force. He made his workers' factory village into a drink-free temperance utopia. The Primitive Methodist Joseph Wilson was another Bradfordian whose temperance work influenced his work practices. He introduced pioneering profit-sharing schemes, work canteens, recreation and sports facilities into his worsted mills in the 1860s, as well as actively promoting temperance.¹⁶²

The anti-spirits societies consisted largely, but not exclusively, of the middle and upper classes. Members were from a variety of occupations and included businessmen, clergy and medical men. There were many female members, too. Wealthy patronage of temperance societies was commonplace. It had its negative as well as positive side, however. Prestige could not compensate for a lack of energetic work in promoting the cause. Figureheads had important but limited use. As Joseph Livesey wrote, the wealthy 'often retard operations' because the necessary work involved in promoting temperance 'is

not congenial to the habits of the rich'. Also, their position in the temperance society could dissuade workingmen from coming forward to help. Societies freed from wealthy patrons usually prospered much more, for they evolved through the efforts of the workers themselves.¹⁶³ The temperance historian Dawson Burns noted that: 'The machinery employed was inadequate to the demands of the times'.¹⁶⁴

Good public speakers like William Collins were important, for they could get the temperance message across effectively to a comparatively well-educated audience. However, the anti-spirits societies relied mainly on agents to spread the principles of reform. Some were paid but others worked for nothing when funds were scarce. They were mostly well-educated, respectable men with close church connections, established or non-conformist. Many were ordained ministers, especially of Baptist origin. They were hired by both national and local societies to give lectures and organise new societies in their areas. Those employed by the British and Foreign Temperance Society (B.F.T.S. see page 100) in particular enrolled affiliates all over the country and so strengthened the London-based society's claim to being a national organisation. There were nine B.F.T.S. agents by 1834, mostly employed for a limited period. Three of them worked voluntarily. The Rev. James Jackson of Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire, was the best-known temperance agent of the movement. He first worked for the B.F.T.S. and then for the Bradford Temperance Society. The prestige and influence of the latter were greatly increased due to his tireless efforts.¹⁶⁵

The churches

It would be useful at this point to state the attitude of the different denominations to the newly emergent temperance movement. This was by no means uniform either between

denominations or within a denomination. The early societies were aware of the dangers of division that religion posed to the temperance endeavour, and were careful not to allow the introduction of 'religious peculiarities' into meetings or tracts. The temperance societies' rules ensured equality to all sects and parties. Some temperance societies of a specific denominational character were set up to cater for particular groups, thus avoiding needless clashes over religious doctrine and practices.¹⁶⁶

The temperance journals of the 1830s and 40s, conscious of the timidity of clerical support for temperance societies, were full of appeals to the clergy to join their cause. They appreciated how the support of official church bodies would bolster their claims. Thus in the second issue of the *Temperance Journal*, January 12 1839, the lead article entitled 'Importance of Christian co-operation', stated;

The success of Temperance Societies in America is, in a great measure, to be attributed to the countenance and support they have received from the Christian portion of its communities. Unhappily, with us, but little assistance has been obtained from a like quarter. [...] Whilst we have the powerful example of the holy and enlightened of mankind against us, it is utterly impossible that our efforts will be crowned with signal success. [...] But to ensure this [support], meekness and forbearance on our part are imperatively called for.

The Temperance Penny Magazine reported that the Board of Congregational Ministers in London and its vicinity had adopted a resolution in 1834 cordially approving of the object of the British and Foreign Temperance Society. It earnestly recommended the ministers and members of Christian churches 'to employ their best exertions for the promotion and efficiency of such institutions'.¹⁶⁷ In June 1833, the Baptist Association of Yorkshire and Lancashire passed the following resolution at their Annual Meeting: 'That the claims of Temperance Societies be recommended to the candid and serious consideration of the churches of the Association'.¹⁶⁸

Clerical support for temperance was initially difficult to obtain, however, especially from ministers of the established church. They preferred to leave personal abstinence to individual choice. Coercion was frowned upon. 'To *command* to abstain, is antichristian ? to abstain, may be a noble exercise of Christian liberty'.¹⁶⁹ Also, drinking was tolerated among clergy and worshippers.

Most clergy showed indifference to the cause, believing that temperance work was not the responsibility of the church. Church halls were frequently refused for temperance meetings, although paradoxically they were often the only suitable places. This subdued animosity, or 'silent contempt' turned to more open hostility during the teetotal phase, as will be seen in the next chapter.¹⁷⁰

There was a general belief among clergy of all persuasions that ministers should not emphasise one vice over others. In reply, it was stated that intemperance was unlike other vices. While gluttony, lying, stealing, etc. were due to 'a perversion of natural appetite or to innate tendencies to depravity', intemperance was the product of taking an external physical substance into the system. Psychological effects were then produced that were very different from those of other articles of consumption.¹⁷¹ Other clerical objections were that temperance societies promoted man's temporal welfare to the neglect of the higher claims of morality and religion; that ministers should concentrate exclusively on preaching the Gospel; and that 'irreligious' men were among the temperance workers.¹⁷²

Many ministers supported the movement in a private capacity, however, and were proudly advertised as patrons and speakers at the early temperance meetings. There were three ministers on the initial sixteen-man committee of the Bradford Temperance Society in 1830; Revs. G. S. Bull, B. Godwin, and W. Morgan. The London temperance journal *Intelligencer*, among other temperance publications, published lists of 'Ministers and

medical men who were acting upon the Principle of total abstinence'. Numerous names of ministers from all churches appear on the roll from 1837 onwards.

Methodists, whether Wesleyan, Primitive, or Bible Christian, were prominent in the anti-spirits movement in an individual capacity. Some lectured on temperance themselves or lent their church premises for meetings. Traditionally, the Methodist Church was against the drinking of distilled liquors. Methodists were required by the Rules of the Methodist Society, 1743, 'to avoid buying or selling spirituous liquors except in cases of extreme necessity'.¹⁷³ The message was reiterated in Wesley's sermons throughout England during the eighteenth century. In the Minutes of the 1745 Wesleyan Conference, it is asked: 'What can be done to cure people of drinking drams? Answer: Let no preacher drink any on *any pretence whatever*'. This rule, however, was often 'neglected or broken by both preachers and people'.¹⁷⁴ Two hundred years later, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* was more emphatic in its denunciation;

It is our settled conviction that more of our ministers and members have been degraded by the sin of intemperance than by any other. We verily believe that this single sin is destroying more souls than all the ministers in Britain are instrumental in saving.¹⁷⁵

In *Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions*, 1773, Wesley condemned the wastage involved in distilling corn and wheat, in converting it into 'deadly poison'. He argued that the price of wheat, barley and corn would drop if distilling were prohibited ? 'that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life, and of virtue'. In *A Word to a Drunkard* he chastised the man who would throw away his reason through strong drink and become a beast or a devil. He countered the argument that drinking was sociable by accusing friends who would entice a man to drink of being villains. 'A drunkard is a public enemy. Above all you are an enemy to God'.¹⁷⁶ Wesley's chief denunciations were against spirits and spirit drinking, however. Although he warned people of the perils of the wine

cup, a cautious medicinal use of wine and spirits was recognised. He was a total abstainer only in the sense that he advised refraining from intoxicating liquors in order to avoid the abuse of them. However, he believed in the common notion of the nourishing properties of beer, and did not include it in his ban.¹⁷⁷

The Evangelicals, especially the Society of Friends, contributed to the early temperance movement with both practical and moral support. Concerning the first temperance societies established in London in 1834, George Field claimed that ‘in nearly all cases the meetings were held in Friends’ Meeting Houses’. He also stated;

The early pioneers, Temperance Agents, and Lecturers have all testified that no body of Christians rendered so much help to the cause, and manifested so much sympathy with the work as did the Society of Friends.¹⁷⁸

Thomas Whittaker, a famous teetotal agent, reiterated this.¹⁷⁹ The Friends had a tradition of temperance in all matters of diet, and so were against eating and drinking in excess. However, they saw nothing wrong in wines and beer and many prominent Quaker families were important brewers in the early nineteenth century. As with the other churches, support for the movement varied from place to place. The north and west of England saw the strongest support, with London, despite Field’s assertions, generally proving infertile ground. Support was offered on an individual basis, and problems arose when the temperance movement became more radical. Attempts to impose teetotalism on members was met with opposition, in spite of the justification that it was ‘for the sake of others’, and not for the inherent evil of alcohol. Many feared this could provoke a schism in the Society.¹⁸⁰

The churches only really became involved in the temperance cause, and established their own temperance societies, in the 1860s and 70s.

The rationale of anti-spirits societies

The objective of temperance societies, as already stated, was to prevent temperate men from becoming drunkards through total abstinence from ardent spirits, and the moderate use of other liquors. William Collins, the Scottish publisher and Presbyterian Church elder, was a strong supporter of total abstinence from ardent spirits, as noted earlier. His speech to the first public meeting of the Bradford Temperance Society on June 14 1830, rebutting the main arguments put forward against the new temperance societies, is illustrative of the principal contemporary arguments for anti-spirits societies.¹⁸¹

Collins claimed it was a ‘deep fallacy and desperate delusion’ that temperate men, not being inebriates themselves, did not need to join temperance societies. The danger was always present, for drunkards were once temperate men who could have been saved if such societies had existed in their pre-drunken days. Prevention was deemed the safest policy.

Addressing the argument that increased membership of temperance societies would result from a policy of moderation as opposed to total abstinence from spirits, he restated the dangers of moderation. If a man never drank he would never become an alcoholic. Therefore, no drunk would ever come from a temperance society. (The addictive properties of wine and beer were not acknowledged). Taken to its logical conclusion, if all men were members, then drunkenness would be eradicated. He warned that some temperate men may not become drunks themselves, but they gave a bad example to others, who might easily become so. No man drank with the intention of becoming an alcoholic, but drunkards originated from moderate drinkers. An increased membership of moderate drinkers would only produce, eventually, more inebriates. ‘Taste not, touch not, handle not’ was forwarded as the motto for success.

The argument that as everything from God was good, spirits should be considered good also, was a popular one. Collins responded that everything was good when used in its 'proper' condition and for its 'proper' use. As spirit did not exist in grain and was only produced by man's manipulation/distillation of the elements of grain, it did not remain equally good for daily use. It was, instead, noxious and destructive. Grain intended for bread, the staff of life, became spirits, a 'ruination of heaven's bounty'. The proper use of spirits was for medicinal purposes only.

Collins argued that Christianity had never been brought to bear on the problem of insobriety because the true cause had never been conceived. Because of this, Christianity had not arrested its progress. It had simply condemned the drunkard. Christianity had never tackled the 'sentiments and habits of temperate men', the customs and practices of social intercourse. He assured everyone that the Gospel would have succeeded if it had been directed against the sin. 'The Gospel could never heal, when it was never applied to the disease'.

Collins used a moral argument based on the principle of Christian charity to answer the question, 'Why should everyone abstain from spirits because others bring wretchedness and sin upon themselves through their abuse?' Any practice that became an occasion for sin to others must be abandoned, he said. St. Paul's command: 'It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended or is made weak' (Romans 14:21) was a basic tenet of temperance societies, one of their main arguments for divine blessing of the cause.

Collins admitted the general principle that because something was abused by some this did not mean it should not be used by others. However, this was held to only be applicable when things were put to their legitimate use. The principle lost its legitimacy when there was misuse. Physicians classed spirits as medicine or even as poison, therefore

the proper use of spirits was to help cure the sick. They were injurious to healthy men, and their use of them as drink constituted misuse. Therefore, there was no justification on any principle whatsoever for their daily and habitual use by healthy men, however limited the quantity might be.

A strong objection to temperance societies concerned the pledge. It was claimed that it was taking the place of the baptismal vow, and that vows could only be made to God.¹⁸² This was ‘over-nice scrupulosity’ rejoined Collins. The temperance declaration was not a vow, but rather a ‘declaration of present determination’, taken voluntarily, that could be terminated at any time, thus lifting any obligation. A personal declaration was public testimony that encouraged others to join, strengthening the cause by increasing union. The cause was also helped by the increased publicity it gained from the rising number of pledge-takers.¹⁸³ Finally, it reinforced the steadfastness of the abstainer, the unwillingness to recant on a pledge giving him a solid reason for not drinking.¹⁸⁴

The illustrator and caricaturist George Cruikshank, a temperance advocate from the late 1840s, disagreed with Collins regarding the necessity of taking the pledge, and looked to recruiting gentlemen to temperance precisely by promoting the non-taking of it. He considered by relying solely on his word of honour to abstain, other gentlemen would follow his example who might have objected to signing a pledge. Indeed, he was vindicated in his course of action for he was frequently visited at home by gentlemen who gave their word of honour to him that they would abstain for a specified time.¹⁸⁵

A further criticism of the pledge was that it showed feebleness of character. It was seen, along with membership of a temperance society, as a crutch, without which some people could not sustain sobriety. In order to show strength of character, therefore, some men liked to boast they did not need any sort of support to keep them from drunkenness. In *The Pledge Breaker; A Solemn Warning*,¹⁸⁶ the author censures both

clerical antipathy and the weakness argument by having a 'professor of religion' taunt a reclaimed drunk for his pledge-taking ? his 'weakness'. Bets were actually offered that he could not remain sober, except under the restraint of the pledge, and the influence of his society membership. The clergyman is accused of being Satan in disguise, a tempter. Needless to say, the pledge breaker fell into the direst of circumstances, caused the death of his wife and child, and finally committed suicide. Not everyone is mentally strong. The pressure to drink was very great in nineteenth-century England. Drink customs and usages both in the social and work environments were very difficult to resist. The pledge, therefore, was a bond of union between the members of temperance societies and helped them to resist outside pressure to conform.

The British and Foreign Temperance Society (B.F.T.S.), 1831

William Collins attempted to establish a temperance society in London in 1830 but only succeeded in doing so in November, on his third attempt. The London Temperance Society became the British and Foreign Temperance Society (B.F.T.S.) on July 27 1831 under the presidency of the Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield. Five other bishops were vice-presidents. This number had increased to nine by 1836, with one earl, one Lieutenant-General and seven lords. Queen Victoria became patron in 1843, demoting the Bishop of London to vice-president. It was financed largely by wealthy philanthropists, not the victims of intemperance, and its supporters could be seen at the meetings of many other evangelical societies. It was the first national body representing the entire temperance movement and was based at Exeter Hall.¹⁸⁷

The pledge was as follows;

We agree to abstain from distilled spirits except for medicinal purposes,
and to discountenance the causes and practice of intemperance.

During its first four years, the society was very prosperous. In 1835 they reported 557 auxiliaries in England and Wales and 3,832,800 members, and employed nine travelling agents.¹⁸⁸

The anti-spirits societies in general suffered greatly from a lack of funds, never being able to galvanise the money generated by other reforming societies of the time ? factory reform, public education, anti-slavery etc. The distinguished patrons did not contribute generously to the cause, contrary to what may have been expected. 1834 was the best year for the B.F.T.S. It managed to obtain £1,725. In contrast, in 1836 only around £900 was received. Funds gradually dwindled year by year to around £100 in its final year of 1848.¹⁸⁹

The appointment of Rev. Owen Clarke as travelling agent in 1835 seriously hampered the development of the B.F.T.S. for he renounced total abstinence vehemently from the platform, thus alienating an increasing number of people. A more reconciliatory, diplomatic approach to those who wished to extend the drinking prohibition to all forms of alcoholic drink would have facilitated an understanding between the two groups. There was, however, a general unwillingness to adapt to the radical teetotalism of the mid-1830s, for the B.F.T.S. attempted to put down the 'new and dangerous doctrine'. Supporters stressed the overriding importance of Christianity to temperance; 'Separated from Christianity, temperance would lose half its value. [...] The cause of temperance is the cause of God. [...] It cannot prosper without the blessing of God'. Total abstainers were equated with infidels and fanatics, and any supposed similarity between the two types of organisation was denounced as both a common and lamentable error.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, much support was lost, subscriptions fell and many branch societies joined the emergent teetotal movement. Even a change to the terms of membership in 1841, whereby those who objected to signing the society's pledge were admitted as members on payment of a

subscription, could not save the society.¹⁹¹ By the end of 1835 the most active temperance societies had withdrawn their support and joined the Manchester-based, teetotal, British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, (British Temperance Association). Loss of membership coupled with inadequate finances sealed the fate of the B.F.T.S. and it ceased operations in 1848.¹⁹²

Conclusion

After the first temperance societies were established in the USA in 1826, temperance principles were exported across the Atlantic and implanted in Scotland, Ireland, and then England. Bradford was the birthplace of the English temperance movement, and from this northern, industrial town temperance was propagated. Support for the temperance movement came from many sources, but the manufacturing districts were especially helpful. Despite individual church denominations being officially reluctant to offer support, (religion was certainly kept out of temperance meetings because of its divisive potential), much support came from religious dignitaries of various denominations. Along with members of the upper class, they often constituted the patrons of societies. However, although humble clerics were sometimes active locally, there were also a number of objections to temperance voiced by the clergy. The pledge was a particular stumbling block, but by no means the only one.

Speakers and agents were used to spread the temperance message, and initially they were quite successful. Five hundred and fifty-seven auxiliaries of the B.F.T.S. were established by 1835. It was not enough, however, and this first national temperance organisation encountered increasing difficulties, including financial ones.

Three main factors caused the failure of the anti-spirits movement. Firstly, it never generated a sufficiently strong financial basis to sustain a robust propaganda

campaign or to employ sufficient agents. Secondly, it relied heavily on upper class 'patronage and favour'. Aristocratic involvement in moral crusading, evident from the early 1820s, was vital to the successful implantation of the anti-spirits movement in England. However, in the 1830s, opposition to a paternalistic approach to solving social problems was increasingly evident, and upper class involvement became a hindrance rather than a help. Often, little practical work was done by the affluent patrons. As enthusiastic working-class members frequently felt inhibited from coming forward, the societies were led into a semi-moribund state. Meetings were often reduced to one a month, and were taken up with speeches to the converted rather than discussion on the best ways to combat intemperance. Apart from meetings, little else was attempted by way of campaigning, for a lack of funds curtailed the work of the agents. Thirdly, the adoption of a policy of abstinence from spirits only, allowing the consumption of wine and beer, was ineffective, for evidence showed that intemperance levels continued to rise. The most popular, 'national' drink, beer, was not blacklisted, nor was the wine largely drunk by the upper classes. 'Why call upon the people of many districts to deny themselves of that which they never take, and for which their habits lead them to have no inclination?' asked Joseph Livesey in 1833.¹⁹³ After the negative effects of the 1830 Beer Act became obvious, (much higher levels of drunkenness), this policy was increasingly questioned.

The anti-spirits movement was challenged by supporters of a more radical approach to temperance. The total abstinence from *all* intoxicating liquors that they advocated led to a period of struggle within the temperance movement that damaged its public reputation. The eventual resolution of the struggle left it a stronger force, however. It is to this next stage of the movement that we must now turn.

Reference Notes

Chapter 2.3. Anti-spirits Societies 1828-32

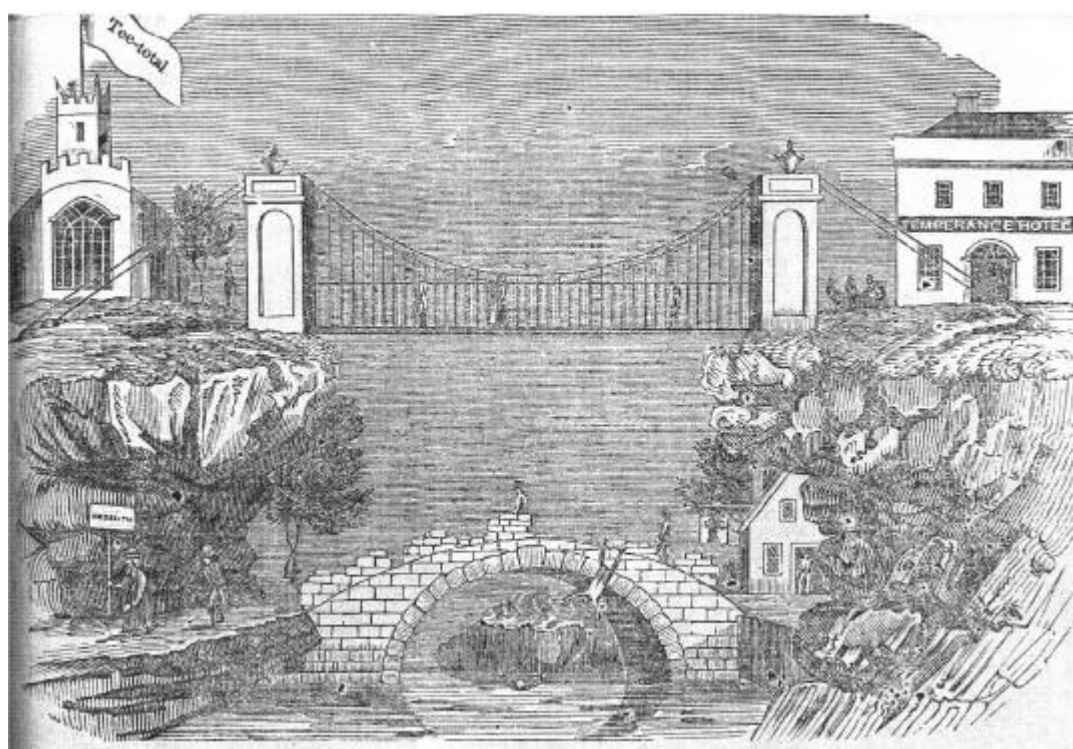
- ¹⁴⁹ Ale was made by fermenting a cereal, usually barley, originally differing from beer by being unflavoured by hops.
- ¹⁵⁰ Edgar: 1831, p. 1.
- ¹⁵¹ Shiman: 1986, p. 11.
- ¹⁵² *Second Annual Report of Bradford Temperance Society*, 1832, p. 7.
- ¹⁵³ For the temperance movement in America see Pegram, T. R., *Battling Demon Rum*, 1998.
- ¹⁵⁴ Harrison: 1994, p. 100.
- ¹⁵⁵ Edgar: 1831, p. 39.
- ¹⁵⁶ This is generally cited as the first Scottish society, although Miss Allen, a member of the Society of Friends, is credited by George Field in his lecture on the history of the Bradford Temperance Society with forming a temperance society in October 1829 at Mary Hill, near Glasgow. John Dunlop was said to have formed his society in Glasgow on October 6 of the same year, (Field: 1897, p. 4).
- ¹⁵⁷ *Second Annual Report of the Bradford Temperance Society*, 1832, p. 7.
- ¹⁵⁸ Longmate: 1968, p. 35.
- ¹⁵⁹ Burns: 1889a, p. 41. For details of Dr. Beecher's life and work see 'Dr. Lyman Beecher' in *Meliora*, vol. ix, 1866, pp. 61-83.
- ¹⁶⁰ Burns: 1889a, p. 41.
- ¹⁶¹ Couling: 1862, p. 43; Burns: 1889a, p. 79.
- ¹⁶² See Wilson's biography *Joseph Wilson His Life and Work*, c. 1923.
- ¹⁶³ *The Temperance Advocate* in *The Moral Reformer*, no. 8, Aug. 1 1833, p. 253.
- ¹⁶⁴ Burns: 1889a, p. 60.
- ¹⁶⁵ Shiman: 1986, p. 13.
- ¹⁶⁶ See 'Ought Religious Worship To Be Introduced At Temperance Meetings?', *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 8, Aug. 1836, pp. 57-8.
- ¹⁶⁷ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. I, no. 4, April 1836, p. 54.
- ¹⁶⁸ *The Temperance Magazine and Review*, 1833, p. 158.
- ¹⁶⁹ Edgar: 1831, p. 5.
- ¹⁷⁰ For more details of Church of England clergy involved with teetotalism, see Shiman: 1986, pp. 46-53; Carter: 1932, p. 53. Thomas Whittaker cites the various attitudes he encountered on his travels as teetotal agent/missionary. They ranged from extreme helpfulness (Quakers) to active opposition (Wesleyans and Church of England), (Whittaker: 1885, pp. 88-9); Whittaker: 1885, p. 18.
- ¹⁷¹ Burns: 1897, pp. 24-5.
- ¹⁷² Shiman: 1986, p. 65.
- ¹⁷³ *Rules of the Society of the People called Methodists*, issued by John and Charles Wesley in 1743.
- ¹⁷⁴ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, Sept. 1836, p. 159.
- ¹⁷⁵ Urwin: 1943, p. 32.
- ¹⁷⁶ Urwin & Wollen: 1937, pp. 53-5.
- ¹⁷⁷ Urwin: 1943, pp. 19-20.
- ¹⁷⁸ Field: 1897, p. 8.
- ¹⁷⁹ Whittaker: 1885, pp. 88-9.
- ¹⁸⁰ Shiman: 1986, pp. 57-9.
- ¹⁸¹ These arguments were expanded on and supplemented by John Edgar in his 44-page *A Complete View of the Principles and Objects of Temperance Societies*, Bradford, 1831.
- ¹⁸² See Appendix 4 for examples of a variety of pledges adopted by different temperance societies.

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- ¹⁸³ Juvenile, adult and family pledge cards were available from societies. In 1857, the British Temperance League sold 12,000 of the former to auxiliary societies, (*British Temperance League*: 1857, p. 14).
- ¹⁸⁴ Collins: 1830, pp. 1-9; 'Intemperance', *The Moral Reformer*, April 1 1832, pp. 114-5.
- ¹⁸⁵ George Cruikshank penned two very popular series of eight drawings, 'The Bottle', 1847, and a sequel 'The Drunkard's Children', 1848. The former sold almost 100,000 copies. They chart the rise and fall of a moderate drinking man and his family. In 1862, he finished his picture 'The Worship of Bacchus', which depicted 1,000 figures in varying stages of worshipping the wine god. After public exhibition, and after being shown to the Queen at Windsor, it was purchased by friends of the temperance cause and presented to the nation, (Inwards: 1879, p. 101).
- ¹⁸⁶ In *Temperance Tracts*, BCL.
- ¹⁸⁷ Burns: 1889a, pp. 53-4; Harrison: 1994, p. 103.
- ¹⁸⁸ For more on The British and Foreign Temperance Society see Harrison: 1994, pp. 103-11.
- ¹⁸⁹ Figures from B.F.T.S. Annual Reports quoted in Harrison: 1994, p. 101.
- ¹⁹⁰ See the report of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the B.F.T.S. in *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. VI, no. 67, June 1841, pp.81-96.
- ¹⁹¹ The justification for the change was that the extra financial resources from such members would finance the all-important agents and publications, (*ibid*, p. 92).
- ¹⁹² See 'Injurious Temperance Advocates' in *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. V, no. 51, Feb. 1840; Pilkington: 1894, p. 58.
- ¹⁹³ *The Temperance Advocate* in *The Moral Reformer*, no. 8, Aug. 1 1833, p. 253.

CHAPTER THREE

BUCKLE ON YOUR ARMOUR.

TEETOTAL SOCIETIES 1832-1852



The Dangerous Moderation Bridge, and the Tee-Total Safety Bridge
Preston Temperance Advocate, 1834-7, front page.

If you would live a happy life,
Never become a drunkard's wife.

The Temperance Journal, March 16 1839, p. 92.

Lastly (and this is, perhaps, the golden rule), no woman should marry a
teetotaller.

Stevenson, R. L., *Virginibus Puerisque*, 1880.

'Buckle on your armour' and continue the good fight.¹ This was the advice given to a discouraged teetotal advocate by a fellow worker. The combat metaphor is a recurring one in temperance circles, and epitomises well the determination to beat the 'enemy', drink. This chapter traces the first twenty years of the total abstinence (or teetotal) societies.

The name 'teetotal' was coined at a meeting of the Preston Temperance Society in September 1833. Richard Turner, a Methodist plasterer, exclaimed 'nothing but the tee-total would do', meaning entire abstinence. The name was immediately adopted as the official designation for total abstainers. Livesey denied allegations that Turner stuttered, and so unintentionally invented the word.²

Many arguments were used to advocate total abstinence from all alcoholic drinks. Most of them were identical to those used in support of abstinence from spirits cited in chapter 2.2. The great difference is that selective abstinence (spirits only), or rather its failure, was used as one of the main reasons for making the temperance doctrine all-inclusive.

It became obvious around 1831 that allowing members to drink fermented beverages 'in moderation' whilst abstaining from distilled drinks was insufficient for either reclaiming the drunkard or keeping the moderate drinker sober. The early expectations resulting from the initial work of the anti-spirits societies, with their

imposing patrons and high-blown morality, were not fulfilled. *The Temperance Journal* of January 5 1839 stated what many believed.

To be secure at their attempts at reformation, those who have been addicted to habits of intemperance, should avoid every place, every scene, every person, every association, identified with drinking: these should be regarded as the portals of ruin, as the gates of death.

Pressure was increasingly exerted on the moderation societies to reform their principles. For example, Thomas Beaumont,³ a Bradford surgeon and one of the founders of the Bradford Temperance Society, blamed the fundamental principles of the moderationist temperance movement when he wrote of Bradford;

Here the first moderation society was formed, and here there was no want of zeal, talent, or piety, in the working of that system; and yet, in nearly five years, we did not succeed in reforming one solitary drunkard.⁴

The lament for failing the drunkard is important, for it highlights a fundamental difference of approach between the anti-spirits supporters and the total abstainers. The latter did not subscribe, like the former, to a fatalistic approach to the inebriate, casting him aside as one without hope of salvation, but believed that given the right encouragement and support he could be brought back to sobriety. Indeed, many zealous total abstinence missionaries were reclaimed drunkards who would never have been helped without a change of attitude of this kind.

Origins of the teetotal movement

The accounts of the early days of the total abstinence movement are not consensual. The 1860s witnessed a heated exchange and counter-exchange of a long-standing controversy: who first publicly advocated total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors? The 'battle' was mainly between Joseph Livesey's supporters, (Livesey never claimed the

honour for himself), and James Teare, named the 'Father of the Temperance cause' and 'the oldest and best of Temperance advocates'.⁵ The controversy bears recounting as much for the light it sheds on the type of internal squabble that plagued the movement throughout the nineteenth century as for historical authenticity.

'Honest James Teare' as he was known, the personification of the robust, plain-speaking 'John Bull', shoemaker by trade, was an important early itinerant preacher of the teetotal principles. Born in the Isle of Man in 1804, he moved to Preston in 1823. He was an active visitor of the Samaritan Society and obtained first-hand knowledge of the acute distress of many families through his home visits and charity work. A religious man, Wesleyan Methodist, he decided that it was his duty 'towards God and his fellow-creatures' to preach the total abstinence message. He began touring the country 'on his own responsibility', labouring gratuitously until 1836 when he became a full time, paid, temperance preacher. His first yearlong tour from April 4 1836 took him to London, Worcester, Chester, Gloucester, Wrexham and many other towns and cities. He travelled over 8,000 miles and held over 400 meetings, encountering great success. In April 1837, he undertook a second tour that was equally successful.

Societies were formed on the true principle, [teetotalism] and hundreds, yea thousands, ceased to use intoxicating liquor.⁶

In January 1838, he also visited Cornwall, where he spent over a year converting the people to teetotal principles.⁷ He also preached in Ireland and Scotland.

Teare first claimed to be the teetotal movement's founder in 1846, in a pamphlet entitled *The History of the Advocacy of the Principle of Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Liquors*.⁸ This claim and others of a similar nature were reiterated in 1854 and 1859. The pamphlet was reprinted in 1861. Finally, the claims were made in several letters published in the *Alliance News*, the organ of the prohibitionist society the United Kingdom

Alliance. He had been spurred on to write his 1846 pamphlet by the publication 'in the papers' that the signing of the short teetotal pledge, introduced into the Preston Temperance Society by Joseph Livesey, was the origin of the teetotal movement.⁹

Teare's claim was based on the fact of his being the first to advocate publicly the adoption of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks 'as the only efficient remedy for the evils of intemperance' on June 18 1832, at a meeting of the Preston Temperance Society held at the Independent Chapel in Grimshaw Street.¹⁰ Livesey was largely ignored in Teare's account of the origin of teetotalism, and credited with making his maiden public speech in favour of teetotalism at a later temperance meeting in the Cockpit, July 1832, well after his own inaugural speech on June 18. Pilkington, who wrote a sixty-five-page history of the movement in 1894,¹¹ also acknowledged Teare as the first to 'hoist the teetotal banner in the moderation meetings', namely the June 18 meeting.¹²

James Teare's claims were examined in 1864 in a pamphlet issued by James Stephenson, Joseph Dearden and George Toulmin, *The Origin and Success of Teetotalism, being a Refutation of the statements made by Mr. Teare in relation to that question*.¹³ They claimed that they had not reacted earlier for two reasons: firstly, an unwillingness to enter into 'an ungracious' wrangle with Teare, 'a needy person' and secondly because the original 1846 pamphlet was little distributed in Preston. The inhabitants, (including themselves), had been largely ignorant of its offensive contents. 'If the *animus* of the pamphlet had not been so obviously that of striving to depreciate Mr. Livesey's labours we should not have dwelt upon them as we have here done'. Prestonians showed their disfavour later, when Teare's more exaggerated claims were made, by ignoring the appeals for donations to his testimonial fund. Only four contributed, of these only two were teetotallers.¹⁴

After noting that the claims in 1859 were stronger than the original 1846 ones, perhaps because Teare was trying to obtain contributions for his testimonial and wanted to highlight his own importance, the authors proceeded to dismantle Teare's claims one by one. Numerous occasions were cited of speakers advocating and practising teetotalism before June 18 1832, the date when Teare claimed to be the first public teetotal advocate. For example, the editor of the *Preston Guardian*, George Toulmin, (a former student at Livesey's adult school and a life-long friend of his), remembered both Livesey and Thomas Swindlehurst advocating total abstinence from fermented as well as distilled liquor at the meeting in Lawson Street Chapel on April 27 1832. The effect of the speeches, especially Livesey's, was tremendous.

After this, the most earnest friends of the cause began to advocate a discontinuance of the use of *all* intoxicating drinks, which ultimately led to the adoption of total abstinence.¹⁵

Mr Livesey [spoke] at comparatively considerable length; and that speech, in my opinion, was the real commencement of the total abstinence movement.¹⁶

Joseph Dearden also backed up the claims to Livesey's precedence. He stated categorically in his *Dawn and Spread of Teetotalism*, 1873, that J. Livesey, T. Swindlehurst, J. Teare and others gave addresses at the April 27 meeting. He recalled the impression caused on 'one of the oldest Teetotal members now alive'. This member 'recalled in print the impressive character of Mr Livesey's speech [?] when he advocated Teetotalism in the strongest terms'. The member is not named. Interestingly, Pilkington (pro-Teare) cites Dearden's earlier 1840 work on teetotalism, *Brief History of Teetotalism*, as saying that soon after Teare's speeches, in July 1832, 'many began to abstain entirely' and that 'Messrs. Livesey and Swindlehurst, and a few others, *soon afterwards began to preach up* the entire abstinence doctrine' (the italics are Pilkington's). This shows

inconsistency on Dearden's part, indicative of the confusion to be found in the claims and counter-claims.¹⁷

In his *History*, Teare referred to the April 27 meeting, the second of the newly-formed Preston Temperance Society, but referred only to the speeches of Moses Holden, Edward Dickinson and himself. Teare claimed he had attacked the beerhouses at that meeting, for which he stated he was later taken aside and admonished by the meeting's chairman, Moses Holden, because 'many good people kept such places'. Stephenson *et al* denied this and stated that there was no record of such in the minute book, (it could have been a private admonition, or, as Pilkington suggested, 'it was not necessary to record a strong conversation, like that which occurred when it did not shape itself into a resolution on that specific charge'). The point is important in so far as Teare attempted to show he was victimised by the committee members, including Livesey, for his 'radical' teetotal views. This point is put directly by Pilkington, who cited the patience with which Teare bore the 'odium of his colleagues' at that meeting, while he declared he would advocate no other doctrine but total abstinence at moderation meetings. Teare was sent a reprimand on the orders of the secretary R. Spencer for the theological and party political content of his speeches. The manner of his delivery, his 'violent denunciations', 'dogmatism' and 'uncontrollable temper' were credited for causing the aversion many had for him, and not the teetotal doctrines he professed.¹⁸

Toulmin's claim concerning the April 27 meeting was put down by Pilkington as a lapse of memory, for Toulmin had no written evidence of the thirty-year-old speech. Both sides claim to have been present at the April 27 meeting and it is impossible now to determine whether Livesey spoke for teetotalism or not.¹⁹

Evidence of Livesey's precedence over Teare regarding the first to appeal publicly for total abstinence also comes from John Pearce, editor of Livesey's autobiography.

According to Pearce, Livesey spoke at several meetings before July, and even lectured on Temperance in the Cockpit on the day before the Preston Temperance Society was established, March 21 1832. It is unclear whether Livesey advocated *teetotalism* at this lecture, however. Livesey admits only to lecturing 'on Intemperance and Covetousness'.²⁰

Regarding the period of personal abstinence, Teare admitted that at the time of his first public speech in favour of total abstinence, June 18 1832, he had been a practising total abstainer for only a few weeks. This is a much shorter time than Livesey, who had already published 'An Address to the Working Classes, as to the best means of promoting their own happiness', in *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1831, where for the first time he publicly declared himself to have been a total abstainer since January of that year.

So shocked have I been with the effects of intemperance, and so convinced of the evil tendency of *moderate* drinking, that since the commencement of 1831, I have never tasted ale, wine, or ardent spirits.²¹

It is true that this is only a statement of fact pertaining to personal habit, and not a direct plea for everyone to join him in his abstention, although the underlying idea was certainly that. In the same article, he pleaded for the working class to stop frequenting the public house, however. Teare practically ignored Livesey's various writings in *The Moral Reformer* and elsewhere in favour of temperance and total abstinence. Referring to *The Moral Reformer*, he stated simply that in July 1833 Livesey devoted a part of it to the advocacy of the temperance cause.²²

Teare belittled Livesey's involvement in the initial missionary tours to Preston's outlying districts, naming just two of his journeys. As Stephenson *et al* noted, Livesey made many unpaid tours before Teare started his paid travelling missionary work in 1836. He also omitted references to Livesey's connection with the early Preston Temperance Society, as did Pilkington, and yet he was heavily involved in it and fundamental in helping to change its orientation from a moderationist to a total abstinence society.²³

Livesey's own account of the establishment of the society, substantiated by others, is as follows. A temperance society was established in Preston on January 1 1832 by Henry Bradley at the Sunday school where Livesey was a teacher. A member of Livesey's Adult School, Bradley had been introduced to the principles of abstention by Livesey, through tracts and discussion. This is substantiated by Bradley himself in a letter to *The Youthful Tee-Totaller*, February 1836, p. 12. Teare only referred to the fact that Henry Bradley 'commenced a temperance movement in [?] the adult school in Preston', omitting any reference to Livesey.²⁴ The society was based on abstention from ardent spirits and moderation in fermented liquors. 'Shortly after' its establishment, John Smith began circulating a great number of temperance tracts received from Thomas Swindlehurst (who had received them from his partner, John Finch, of Liverpool). James Teare, Isaac Grundy, James Harrison and Joseph Livesey 'joined [John Smith] in his labours'.²⁵ Teare claimed that the tracts were distributed first, and then the temperance society was established at the Adult School, i.e. the impetus for establishment was the tracts and not the teachings of Joseph Livesey. On the other hand, Pearce pointed out that there were no tracts in circulation taking a higher moral ground than Livesey in *The Moral Reformer* at that time, and therefore no more advanced teaching than his.²⁶ This does not negate the fact that similar tracts were being distributed concomitantly with the publication of *The Moral Reformer*. The Rev. Jackson, agent for the Bradford Temperance Society, was invited to deliver two lectures in Preston. These 'powerful' lectures were heard by 'crowded audiences' and resulted in the creation of the Preston Temperance Society on March 22 1832. Interestingly, neither Teare nor Livesey took the chair at these meetings. That honour befell Moses Holden, astronomer and local Methodist preacher. Both Livesey and Teare were appointed to the committee during the first year of the Preston Temperance Society. At the close of the first meeting, 90 signed the pledge, making the total number of

members about 200 (not everyone was prepared to sign the pledge initially). After weekly meetings in a Wesleyan Sunday School room and Primitive Methodist Chapel, the society began meeting at the Cockpit on May 15, loaned at no cost by Livesey. Meetings were held there until March 20 1855. According to Livesey, by August 1832 there were 1,100 members.²⁷ These facts are substantiated by other temperance historians.²⁸

On August 23 1832, Joseph Livesey invited a Methodist friend, John King, who had been an active member of the Preston Temperance Society for three months, to enter his cheese shop and discuss the vexed question of moderation versus total abstinence.²⁹ This was the most popular topic for discussion among temperance advocates at that time. Livesey related that he impulsively drew up a pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors 'except as medicine' and invited John King to sign it first, which he did. Livesey himself then signed it. John King later cast doubt on Livesey's resolve in a letter to the Rev. W. Cane in 1860. He wrote that Livesey was reluctant to sign after him, and said 'he [Livesey] did not know what to do'. After signing, he begged King not to tell anyone what they had done.³⁰

On September 1, at a special meeting of the Preston Society at the Temperance Hall (Cockpit) called by Livesey, the subject of total abstinence was warmly discussed. Joseph Dearden, among others, called for more caution and less speed. However, Livesey drew up a second total abstinence pledge, similar to the first. It was signed at the meeting by Livesey himself and six others, the so-called Seven Men of Preston.³¹ The famous pledge reads;

We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine, or ardent spirit, except as medicine.

Signing the teetotal pledge was not the beginning of the teetotal movement, although it is easy to see how the symbolic act became romanticised in temperance

fiction.³² The private pledge drawn up between Joseph Livesey and John King passed into temperance mythology and was the subject of many nineteenth-century, self-improving temperance stories, especially those directed at children.³³ It was a symbolic watershed, but not the start of teetotalism as such. Rather, the ideas and principles of teetotalism, advocated earlier, mark the movement's birth. The origin of these is more difficult to pin point. It is probably fairest (and easiest) to sit on the fence, as the author of 'The Origin of Teetotalism' did in 1865.

Who first advocated [teetotalism] in the public meetings, it is now utterly impossible to say ? or at any rate to prove ? though we can very confidently negative the claim to originality that any particular person might unwisely put forth. Messrs. Bradley, Dearden, Livesey, Stephenson, Swindlehurst, Teare, Toulmin, and others, are found in a glorious fraternal fellowship in the good work that was destined to spread so fast and far, and achieve such blessings for the nation.³⁴

However, an appraisal of the two main contenders for the title of originator of the teetotal movement is possible. There is no doubt that 'Honest James Teare' was very effective in spreading the teetotal message in Preston and throughout the country. Even Joseph Livesey wrote in his *Reminiscences*, that Teare had 'laboured and helped to establish societies in every county in the kingdom'. The importance and extent of his mission is not in question. He 'opened out a path along which great armies have travelled, and achieved great and glorious victories'. '[?] every self-respecting society in the west of England dated its foundation from Teare's arrival'. However, his legendary 1836 West of England mission was accomplished with the 'cordial approval' of the Preston Temperance Society, the insurance of quality and authenticity. He reported back to base ? the Cockpit in Preston ? after twelve months on the road, where he 'received an ovation'. However, it is inconclusive whether he was the first to speak out for teetotalism as he claimed, at the early moderation meetings of the Preston Temperance Society. This was the basis of his assertion of being the founder of the total abstinence movement.³⁵

On the other hand, Livesey and others had also done much missionary work prior to 1836. Livesey had made a big theoretical contribution to the movement through his *Malt Liquor Lecture*, written in 1834. Inspired by Benjamin Franklin's comments on the food value of beer, Livesey demonstrated the paucity of nutrition to be found in this beverage (see chapter 4). Livesey contributed to the organization of the movement, allowed the free use of the Cockpit for meetings, made platform speeches and undertook lecture tours.³⁶ He produced a substantial amount of published material, (most tracts provided at cost price), and published the first exclusively teetotal paper, the *Temperance Advocate* in 1834. He was responsible for the formulation of the first full teetotal pledge and for convening the inaugural meeting in Manchester, in September 1835, to form the first national teetotal association, the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance (see page 125). In my opinion, this varied contribution means it is fair to regard Livesey as the founding father of the teetotal movement, and to highlight his contribution without belittling that of Teare ? 'one of the founders of this glorious movement'.³⁷

Before leaving the subject, however, it is worthwhile considering the position taken by Thomas Whittaker, a life-long friend of Livesey's and teetotal missionary at the same time as Teare. After considering the evidence, he declared diplomatically that 'James struck the key-note for remodelling the machinery, and Joseph Livesey embodied and crystallized it in that wonderful pledge written in his memorandum book'.³⁸

The controversy over the first to publicly promote total abstinence is rather academic in the final analysis. In the 1860s, the infighting served only to tarnish the movement's public image, providing ammunition for those eager to decry it, whether they were from the drink trade, politicians (especially Tory), clergymen or the simple 'man-in-the-street' who disagreed with total abstinence on principle.

The first teetotal societies

There had been many individual total abstainers throughout history but never an organised, national movement. Despite regional differences in numbers in Great Britain and Ireland, by 1839 there were an estimated 900,000 total abstainers in all.³⁹ In less than a decade, what could motivate so many people to attempt a radically different lifestyle? The answer to that question is to be found in the history of the teetotal societies of the United Kingdom.

The temperance historian Samuel Couling (and others) stated that the first teetotal society in Britain was formed in Dunfermline, Scotland, in September 1830. Later, the Paisley Youth's Society declared themselves total abstainers on 14 January 1832.⁴⁰ Despite these isolated instances, unanimous nineteenth-century temperance opinion held that the beginnings of British teetotalism *as an organised movement* were to be found in Preston. The Preston Temperance Society introduced the teetotal pledge as an alternative to the moderation pledge in September 1832. Although not the first to embrace total abstinence, it was the initial propagator of total abstinence principles throughout the country. As such, it occupies a paramount position in the temperance movement. For this reason, the circumstances surrounding the transformation of the moderationist Preston Temperance Society into a total abstinence society will now be related.

The following was the moderation pledge adopted by the Preston Temperance Society at its inauguration on March 22 1832.

We, the undersigned, believe that the prevailing practice of using intoxicating liquors is most injurious, both to the temporal and spiritual interests of the people, by producing crime, poverty and disease. We believe also, that decisive means of reformation, including example as well as precept, are loudly and imperatively called for. We do therefore voluntarily agree that we will totally abstain from the use of ardent spirits ourselves, and will not give nor offer them to others, except as medicines;

and if we use other liquors it shall be in great moderation, and we will endeavour to discountenance the causes and practices of intemperance.⁴¹

The requisite 'great names' and influential men formed part of the first committee, irrespective of political or religious affiliation. In this respect, the Preston Temperance Society did not differ from other temperance societies. However, as early as July 1832, Livesey wrote that 'a considerable number of respectable working men', including several reformed drunkards, were added to the committee. The 'zealous, indefatigable efforts' of these men made the Preston Society one of the most prosperous in Lancashire.⁴² Meetings were filled to excess with statements and confessions of reformed drunkards, and because of home visits by teetotal advocates, more were encouraged to join.

From the very beginning, therefore, the Preston Temperance Society differed from its counterparts, that concentrated on preserving the temperate only. With the adoption of the total abstinence pledge on September 1 1832, there was a steady drift away from the old moderation/anti-spirits doctrines towards a more radical approach to the eradication of alcoholic drinks from society.

The pledge war

Most of the Preston Temperance Society committee members quickly signed the 'entire' abstinence pledge in September 1832, but there was no immediate change in the Society's official pledge. At each meeting the new, semi-official teetotal pledge was introduced and re-signed by the members concerned. The 'war of the pledges' had begun. Livesey was eventually asked by the committee to revise the Society's pledge and rules in time for the first annual meeting of March 1833. The pledge that was eventually introduced was;

We do further voluntarily agree to abstain for one year, from ale, porter, wine, ardent spirits, and all intoxicating liquors, except as use as medicine, or in a religious ordinance.

At the meeting, which was ‘crowded to excess’, this pledge was signed by a number of members, including Joseph Dearden. There were 2,060 members at that date. For a few years there were two pledges operating in the Preston Society. The moderation pledge, after much argument, was eventually abandoned entirely at the annual meeting in March 1835. The abandonment was greeted by the ringing of the Parish Church bells ‘and other demonstrations of rejoicing’. At that time, there were 2,285 moderation and 1,019 total abstinence members.⁴³

Bitter fights erupted within the movement between the moderationists and teetotallers, and among the teetotallers themselves. The dispute hinged on the form of pledge to be adopted by each society, moderation or total abstinence. If the latter, should one pledge personal abstinence only or extend the prohibition to offering drink to third parties?⁴⁴ The fights often took on a personal character and ended in long-lasting bitterness.

The amount of ill-feeling begotten for a time was very pitiable, [?] [teetotalism] was neither charity nor brotherly kindness; separated offices, separated committees, separated periodicals, and separated body of agents. In the press and on the platform frequent bickerings and misrepresentation took place.⁴⁵

The ‘war of the pledges’ became a holy crusade for the teetotallers, for they believed all alcoholic drinks were not only injurious to one’s health, but also morally wrong, since drink was ‘the devil in solution’. Many teetotallers were prepared to sign a pledge to cover lifelong renunciation, and a campaign was launched to replace the ‘short’ pledge of personal abstinence only with the ‘long pledge’, which added a promise ‘neither to give nor offer’ drink to others, (both teetotal pledges). In its extreme form, this long pledge even forbade taking wine in religious ceremonies or as medicine.

In Bradford, many withdrew from the Temperance Society over the pledge issue and united in 1840 to form the Long-Pledged Society. In 1846, this society, subsequently named Bradford Total Abstinence Society, reunited with the Bradford Temperance Society, after concessions were made on both sides. The Birmingham Temperance Society, established in 1830, 'went teetotal' at their fifth Annual Meeting on February 11 1835. Two pledges were introduced, the short and the long, thus accommodating as many people as possible.

The general public was probably unable to appreciate the intricacies and implications of the pledge war. In this respect, the temperance movement weakened its position, failing to present a united front against the drink interest in favour of a change in personal habits. However, the damage should not be overemphasised. In 1884, Thomas Whittaker was able to write that largely through the conciliatory efforts of S. Bowly and R. Rae, President and Secretary of the National Temperance League, little had been heard of the long and short pledge controversy for nearly forty years, 'and people are left to settle these details as their own consciences may dictate, and no one presumes to interfere'.⁴⁶

New British and Foreign Temperance Society (N.B.F.T.S.), 1838

The fate of the second London-based temperance organisation, the teetotal N.B.F.T.S., is indicative of the confusion caused by the pledge war. The British Teetotal Temperance Society was founded in 1835 after Joseph Livesey's second visit to London. In 1836, it changed its name to the New British and Foreign Temperance Society for the Suppression of Intemperance. A further change of name in 1838 created the N.B.F.T.S. It tried to please everyone by accepting short and long pledge members, moderationists and teetotallers. The long pledge included the clause 'will not give or offer them to others

except under medical prescription or in religious ordinance'. The short pledge was allowed in order to obtain more funds and influence, for even a brewer could sign it and be a member. The extreme members, however, increasingly demanded the two pledges be superseded by an abridged form of the pledge used by the American Temperance Union, afterwards known as the 'American Pledge'. Like the long pledge, it was a comprehensive undertaking aimed at subverting drinking usages and the whole licensed trade.

We, the undersigned, do agree that we will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, nor traffic in them. That we will not provide them as an article of entertainment or for persons in our employment and that in all suitable ways we will discountenance their use throughout the community.⁴⁷

No allowance was made for medicinal use, and teetotallers would be prohibited from offering alcoholic drink to anyone. It was argued that as the object of the temperance movement was to extinguish all causes of intemperance, the purchase and provision of intoxicating liquors by total abstainers was inconsistent with their professed object. The Society's annual conference in May 1839 at Exeter Hall, London, ended in uproar over the 'American Pledge' proposal. It was ably defended by American and British delegates to the conference but vehemently opposed by the President and Chairman Earl Stanhope and other delegates. Many who carried out the Long Pledge themselves were averse to a change that would condemn those who had been permitted and even invited to join the Society on signature of the Short Pledge.

Stanhope defended the continuance of a short pledge of personal abstinence only. He pointed to the increased opposition that the teetotal cause would encounter if the proposal were adopted. It would be 'suicide' for the society. He spoke of an employer who, by refusing to allow his servant to drink moderately, would be restricting the servant's liberty and would not be practising Christian charity. He wished to adhere to the following precept: whatever you wish men to do unto you, do also unto them. All men should have

the freedom to choose for themselves whether to drink or not, provided no one was injured. Stanhope argued that by emptying his cellar, a teetotaler would not guarantee the sobriety of a household member, for drink could easily be procured elsewhere. In the same vein, it was undesirable for parliament to legislate against the traffic of alcoholic drink, and police the people accordingly, resulting in compulsory temperance. Temperance should be obtained through example not coercion, for coercion would only cause an adverse reaction. After the 'American' pledge won the vote at the Exeter Hall Meeting on May 21, Lord Stanhope started a new society with the minority of like-minded N.B.F.T.S. members ? the British and Foreign Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (or 'Suppression Society'). This remained teetotal but did not insist on any particular pledge. Both societies worked energetically for temperance for a number of years, and 'great progress was made' especially between 1838 and 1845.⁴⁸ Eventually, mainly due to financial difficulties experienced by both societies, both were dissolved in 1842 and replaced by the National Temperance Society. Membership required only a pledge of personal abstinence and an annual subscription of one guinea or a donation of ten guineas. Lord Stanhope did not join.⁴⁹ This merged with the London Temperance League in 1856 to become The National Temperance League (N.T.L. see page 128).⁵⁰ In 1949, it merged with the teetotal British Temperance League (B.T.L. see below) to form the British National Temperance League, which is still in existence today. A table of the main national temperance organisations (1830 – 1873) can be seen in Appendix 2.

The British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, 1835 / British Temperance League, (B.T.L.) 1854

The British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, commonly known as the British Association, (British Temperance League from 1854), was the first national teetotal organisation in Britain. It was established in 1835 by the second annual Temperance

Conference. The British Association was Manchester-based and teetotal from the very beginning. It later moved its headquarters to Sheffield, but experienced some disadvantage in its geographic location. According to Whittaker, it would have been easier to circulate its literature throughout the country if it had been London-based.⁵¹ Its committee members and vice presidents were all from the north of England, its first president, R. G. White, from Ireland. It did not resist having an aristocratic patron, however. The Earl of Stanhope, a personal abstainer, accepted the honour in 1837. John Bright was a Vice-President twenty years later. It was formed by the most active northern workers;

[...] to extend the operations of existing auxiliaries, and to promote the formation of new ones throughout the kingdom [?] by the employment of an efficient personal agency, and by diffusion of information through the medium of the press.⁵²

The agency department was 'the most useful and important'.⁵³ Three agents were engaged initially, Thomas Whittaker being the first travelling agent. By 1859, there were nine agents. In this year, they gave almost two thousand lectures in twenty English counties, often being invited repeatedly to a given venue. In this way, they were instrumental in the revival of the temperance cause evident from the late fifties. The British Association's organ was *The Star of Temperance*, edited by Revs. F. Beardsall and J. Barker. This was the first English Temperance weekly.⁵⁴ It was a source of regret that funds were insufficient to employ the press more often in the cause of temperance. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of pledge cards and 'Melodists' were sold/sent all over the country.

Members of the British Association were recruited from officers and committee men of temperance societies, or individual abstainers. All the existing committee members of temperance societies were automatically members of the British Association, as well as any pledged person paying a five pound fee, or one guinea *per annum*, (the total abstinence

requirement for all future associations and societies was prospective, not affecting those already in existence).⁵⁵

The British Association suffered from pledge problems. In 1837, at the second annual meeting in Leeds, the Association recommended the following (modified or ‘mutilated’) pledge for the adoption of its societies;

I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, *except in cases of extreme necessity*, and to discountenance the causes and practices of intemperance (my italics).

The ‘extreme necessity’ clause probably had medicinal purposes in mind. However, the original clause ‘not to give or offer intoxicating drinks to others’ was omitted.⁵⁶ Some auxiliaries were unwilling to compromise, however, and the new pledge was roundly attacked especially by the Preston Temperance Society. A teetotal association concerned solely with personal abstinence was obviously less vigorous than one that forbade ‘giving’ and ‘offering’. Liverpool, Chester, Warrington and others backed Preston. A threat was made to withdraw from the Association if the original pledge, agreed to in Preston the previous year, was not reintroduced. The Rev. Francis Beardsall, co-secretary of the Association with Joseph Livesey and D. Thompson, had introduced the changes in order to bring the pledge in line with that of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, a society with which he wanted to amalgamate. Beardsall resigned. The next annual meeting at Liverpool in 1838 passed a resolution allowing auxiliaries to use any pledge that included total abstinence.⁵⁷ By 1857, the requirement of auxiliaries ‘to discountenance the causes and occasions of intemperance’ had become mandatory once again. Squabbles seem to have disappeared by the late 1850s. In 1859, the League’s organ *The British Temperance Advocate* was boasting that in relation to other temperance organisations, it was free from ‘the billows of strife’ and ‘shafts of malice’ of party conflicts and ‘unseemly controversies’.⁵⁸

Appeals for contributions to the British Association were regularly made in the temperance press.⁵⁹ By July 1837, circumstances looked bleak when officials complained that ‘funds [...] are totally inadequate to meet the urgent demands made upon them’.⁶⁰ Twenty years later the League was appealing for more subscribers and increased interest from the ‘temperance body’ generally, indicating that it was not particularly popular with temperance societies in the North and Midlands, its area of activity. Perhaps they could not afford the subscription fee. In 1857, the League showed subscriptions of only £187 10s 6d from members and auxiliaries combined. £313 12s 11d was received for lectures. In 1858, largely because of a £200 legacy and other donations of £20 and £30 from ‘gentlemen’, financial constraints were loosened and receipts totalled £1,024 0s 6d. There was also an increase in membership by one third, leading the committee to optimistic predictions for the future. The £7,500 legacy bequeathed by Joseph Eaton in 1858 gave the League a valuable financial cushion. Giving dimension to the temperance programme, it was noted in the twenty-third annual report of 1858 that the B.T.L. and its immediate auxiliaries had an annual expenditure of more than six thousand pounds for promoting temperance.

The B.T.L. continues its activities today, having amalgamated with the National Temperance League in 1949 to become the British National Temperance League (see below).

The National Temperance League (N.T.L.), 1856

Formed in 1856 as a result of the amalgamation of the National Temperance Society and the London Temperance League, as aforementioned, the N.T.L. co-existed with the B.T.L. until amalgamation in 1949 (becoming the British National Temperance League).⁶¹ The N.T.L. was London based, but its affiliates were to be found in every part

of the kingdom, in agricultural, industrial and seafaring districts. Its object was the promotion of 'true temperance' by the practice and advocacy of total personal abstinence from all intoxicating beverages. Although the 'collateral advantages' afforded by legislation were recognised, the N.T.L. relied on educational and moral forces to attain its desired end ? individual, voluntary abstention. Lectures and literature backed up by moral and religious teaching were the means used by the N.T.L. to achieve a temperate society. Memorials were also sent to the Prime Minister and members of parliament regarding legislative action. This was sometimes in support of an intended measure, or in opposition to one.⁶² It supported the Sunday Closing movement, 'heartily' supporting the closing of public houses on the Sabbath.⁶³

Membership requirements were not onerous, for anyone subscribing at least two shillings and sixpence *per annum*, who had signed a teetotal pledge, was eligible for membership. Temperance societies were encouraged to become affiliates, and a common bond between societies and the parent League was forged, and increased efficiency attained. The N.T.L. supplied visiting lecturers when a temperance society was unable to maintain its own, thereby reviving languid societies and keeping the cause alive in the area. Some districts had a number of affiliated societies that promoted temperance in outlying villages.⁶⁴ By 1862 however, it was felt that the principal local societies were sufficiently well established, had sufficient local ministerial and other support, and could choose from a variety of moderately priced, efficient, professional temperance lecturers. The financial strain of supporting affiliated societies was felt to be unjustified. A new scheme was introduced whereby an annual fee of half a guinea linked a society to the N.T.L. and meant, among other things, that lecturers could be secured at a lower rate than that charged to non-affiliates. This move away from the N.T.L.'s close support of its affiliates indicates that local temperance societies were becoming stronger and less dependent on a strong

parent association. They were certainly growing in number. By 1860, there were 138 local teetotal adult societies in London alone.⁶⁵

The N.T.L. did not target the working classes in the way the B.T.L. did. Although the work of zealous members of the 'operative class' among their own people was valued, the N.T.L. felt that the middle and upper classes needed to be converted to temperance too. 'Owing to conventional prejudices' they could only be reached through an 'intelligent, and, in some senses of the term, a philosophical advocacy'. Competent advocates and suitable places for meetings were required, necessitating ample funds. Special lectures were prepared and given by 'gentlemen of acknowledged prominence and power in the temperance cause', in and around London. The caricaturist George Cruikshank, a vice president of the N.T.L., was one such gentleman. 'Select Conferences' were given throughout the country to bring the facts, principles, and results of the temperance movement before the clergy, medical gentlemen, magistrates, employers, and other persons of influence. A 'marked improvement' in attendance numbers and in the readiness of influential non-abstainers to preside at the meetings was noted in the Annual Report of 1867, along with an increase in national press coverage of the conferences. Although 'laborious and expensive', the Committee concluded that this propaganda method was worthwhile. The N.T.L. valued the support of people of influence and power, even if they did not practise what they preached. This is a different attitude to the more radical stand of the B.T.L.⁶⁶

The working classes were not altogether neglected, however. The open-air meetings held during the summer months, (forty-nine held in London in 1860), were intended to secure those who would not normally have the opportunity of listening to the exposition of temperance principles. A further initiative directed at the working classes was a series of meetings held at Lambeth Baths, London, from 1862. During 1866, the eighteen meetings

were presided over by Thomas Hughes, MP, and secured a large attendance. Preceded by a tea party, they produced 456 pledges in all. In the following year, one of the meetings of the series was addressed by nineteen coal porters. Three thousand co-workers listened to their testimonies in favour of total abstinence, 'for the most part very attentively'.⁶⁷

Ministers of all denominations were particularly targeted for the N.T.L.'s temperance propaganda. Circulars sent to ministers of dissenting denominations enabled the N.T.L. to estimate the number of those abstaining ministers in England to be 2,160 in 1864. To this should be added 600 abstaining clergy from the Church of England. Temperance sermons were encouraged. The 'able and eloquent' sermon preached by the Rev. Robert Maguire in Westminster Abbey in July 1867 was considered a particular triumph for the cause. Anniversary sermons, preached on the anniversary of the founding of the N.T.L., were also encouraged and appreciated. Sixty-one were preached on the 1867 anniversary. If the minister was reluctant to preach temperance himself, the loan of his pulpit was requested for use by a temperance lay preacher. Religious instruction was considered more effective if preceded by temperance teaching.⁶⁸

In 1864-5, the N.T.L. sent deputations to various ministerial conferences, with a view to persuading the participants to adopt teetotal principles. The first was to the Wesleyan Conference, Birmingham, when around 200 ministers accepted the invitation extended by Charles Sturge to meet the deputation. On October 9 1866, a conference was convened at the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, in Sheffield, where 150 interested pastors attended and an address to Congregational ministers was signed by 400 ministers. A highlight of this approach was the meeting held by the N.T.L. Committee in Exeter Hall in December 1867. Presidents of the principal Christian denominations addressed the meeting, which ensured a good attendance by the public. The assembling on a common platform of such illustrious men of England and

Wales, all speaking in favour of the temperance movement, was a positive step for the temperance movement.

The N.T.L. also looked beyond the British Isles, and wished to promote the British model for advancing temperance principles abroad (a voluntary, self help approach rather than a compulsory, government-led one). Thus, representatives were sent to the International Philanthropic Congress in Brussels, in 1856.⁶⁹ Papers were requested for the Congress in 1857, 'shewing [*sic*] the connection of Temperance with questions of moral and social progress, with trade and industry, and with civilisation and prosperity in general'. The continental brethren were to be shown that temperance was the key to a healthy, wealthy society.

Great reliance was placed by the N.T.L. on the 'lecturing agency'. In 1858, seven lecturers were employed, plus the services of the hugely popular American orator John Bartholomew Gough. So many applications were received for Gough's services that only those from affiliated societies met with success. Many societies became affiliated so they could engage Gough.⁷⁰ The London Temperance League had first invited Gough to lecture in 1853. The hugely successful two-year tour was followed by a second beginning in 1857 and a third in 1878. For biographical details of J. B. Gough see page 140.

So much importance was placed on propagating the temperance message orally that free lectures were given to affiliated societies that were short of the necessary funds. A package of eight public lectures by properly accredited lecturers was offered in 1858 for £5, including travelling expenses. The subscriptions of the affiliated societies by no means approximated the costs of the lectures in that year, however, leaving the deficit of £376 9s 6d to be made up by the annual subscriptions of individual members.⁷¹

Some of the agents made domiciliary visits. These were considered so important that the N.T.L. paid half the salary of two agents for two different London Temperance

associations that could not afford to pay the full salary. 'The satisfactory results fully justify the outlay thus incurred'.⁷²

Lecturers were active in various teacher-training colleges, schools and public institutions. The N.T.L. believed that not only was it important to inform the teachers about total abstinence, but also to obtain the inclusion of the physiological facts upon which it was based in the school textbooks. Thus, for example, the Church of England Training College at Cheltenham was visited by the President of the N.T.L. during 1866-7, the Winchester Diocesan Training College by the Rev. John Rodgers, and the British and Foreign School Society's Institution, Borough Road, by the Rev. Alex. Hannay. T. A. Smith gave lectures of a chemical nature to the young in places as diverse as the British Schools at Peckham and Ipswich, the Model Academy at Pimlico, the North London Collegiate School at Camden Town, and the Asylum for Fatherless Children at Reedham. Many schools and institutions barred temperance lecturers, however. This was a source of frustration to the N.T.L., for it attached great importance to this educational aspect of temperance teaching.⁷³

Teetotal advocates

Unlike the moderation agents, who were generally middle class people with a strong religious affiliation, the teetotal advocates were very often working class men, often from dissenting or non-religious backgrounds. They saw themselves as destroyers of an evil source of degradation and misery among the working class and went forth to 'do battle' with the demon drink protected by their temperance 'armour'. Many were reformed drunkards, aggressive and caring little for notions of respectability. They were often uneducated or even illiterate, and adopted titles to enhance their appeal. For example,

Thomas Swindlehurst was 'The King of the Reformed Drunkards' and Thomas Worsnop was the 'Eccentric Advocate'. They were rough and rude, their speech as ragged as their clothes. Thus, they were easy targets for ridicule from the non-temperance public. The 'illiberal expressions' uttered by a few of these working class advocates against those who had not joined the cause, often clergymen, medical men or men of prominent local standing, although often eliciting a favourable response from a working class audience, proved detrimental in the long run. Their verbal excesses were often used against them later by detractors of teetotalism in general.

James Teare was especially guilty of saying 'hard things' against those who opposed his doctrines. According to Barrass, this constituted;

[...] rather a deficit in our heroic friend; for while we would not by any means cast a shield about those who 'touch and taste, and handle the unclean thing;' still we think it is better to beat out opponents with hard arguments, rather than with hard words. We cannot win our opponents to our side by contemptuous language, which is more likely to harden them against us. [...] England is a free nation, and every man is at liberty to hold what opinions he may think proper.⁷⁴

It was a small group of working class men, Joseph Livesey, Thomas and R. Swindlehurst, James Teare, Henry Anderton, William Howarth, and G. Stead, who were responsible for setting in motion the propagation of total abstinence principles throughout England. The oft-quoted 'missionary tour' began on July 8 1833, the start of Preston race week, (a local holiday). The small band of total abstainers set out in a hired horse and cart to convert Lancashire to the cause of teetotalism. 'To the sound of [Dicky Turner's] rattle through the streets we often owed the attendance at the meetings we held in the town and villages, in schools and other places'.⁷⁵ Ten thousand tracts were distributed. Stockport, Rochdale, Manchester, Blackburn, Haslingden, Bury, Heywood, Oldham, Ashton, and Bolton were all visited, many flagging societies were revived, and by October, six country societies had been formed.⁷⁶ By December 1834, according to the temperance journal

Herald, temperance membership (including moderationists) stood at 101,448 in England and Wales. Couling claimed that at the end of 1835, an estimated 48,000 people had signed the teetotal pledge, and 'at least 200 drunkards had been reclaimed'. Manchester alone had twenty-seven temperance societies with 7,640 members. Societies had been set up nationwide, smaller ones affiliated to one of the large 'parent' associations. It must be remembered that membership numbers were estimated, and were probably inflated.⁷⁷

The amateur teetotal lecturers included successful businessmen like Henry Forbes, William Collins, George Hastings and Samuel Bowley, who lectured wherever and whenever they felt inclined, for example at railway stations while waiting for a train. The Quaker Samuel Bowley held a series of 'drawing-room meetings' connected with the N.T.L., specifically for the upper classes. A large number of gentlemen who gave their time and efforts 'freely and ungrudgingly' at temperance meetings were routinely thanked in the Annual Reports of the N.T.L. Many clergymen and ministers who preached the occasional temperance sermon also belong to this class of amateur teetotal lecturers.

After the initial enthusiasm of the early, unpaid, itinerant advocates had worn off, agents hired by individual societies or supplied by parent associations became popular. (The Anti-Slavery Society had employed agents to travel the country professing their cause after 1831).⁷⁸ These agents covered a wide area, visiting a large number of places. Day and Sunday schools were visited. Magistrates, clergymen and other influential gentlemen were addressed. During 1857, the agents of the B.T.L. delivered five lectures a week, on average, frequently preaching on Sundays. They gave over a thousand lectures and preached two hundred sermons. The League charged auxiliaries ten shillings per night for the services of an agent, plus travelling and other expenses. Lectures were also offered free, however, for even a small charge dissuaded many societies from requesting an agent's services. (This practice led the League to a year-end deficit of £59 0s 5½d in 1857.

The situation, on a lesser scale, was similar to that related previously concerning the N.T.L.). The B.T.L. felt strongly about the importance of missionary agents, for without the interest generated by outside speakers, many societies became inactive for months at a time, or worked so inefficiently as to make no impression on the public.⁷⁹ A few of the most successful working class speakers were hired by temperance associations. Some of the main agents were Thomas Whittaker, James Teare, John Cassell, T. A. Smith, John Hockings, Ralph Holker, Edwin Hood, Jabez Inwards, Father Matthew, Robert Mason, Thomas Thompson, Joseph Bormond, Thomas White, John Addleshaw, George Lomax, Elihu Burritt, George Banks and W. Biscombe. Being professional lecturers, they did not usually restrict their services to one organisation, but worked for a variety of them.⁸⁰

James Teare and T. A. Smith were engaged as agents by the London based British Teetotal Temperance Society in November 1836. Evidence of the typically arduous schedule the early lecturers undertook at a time of poor public transport is given below in the form of an extract of a week's work from T. A. Smith's journal. It refers to his 'deputation to the west' in 1838.

Since I left London, I have been engaged as under; ? on the 14th and 15th Dec., addressed public meetings in the Town Hall at Windsor ? on the 17th, delivered a lecture in the Town Hall at Reading ? on the 18th, addressed a public meeting in the Wesleyan school room at Marlboro', at which the Rev. J. Sturge presided, and delivered an interesting address ? on the 19th, attended a meeting at Ramsbury, in the Wesleyan Chapel, [...] ? on the 20th, addressed a meeting in the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Lambourne ? on the 21st, gave a lecture in the Wesleyan school room, Marlboro' ? on the 22nd gave a lecture in the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Aldbourn.⁸¹

Smith gave details of his lectures in the National Temperance League's *Annual Report and Register* for 1857. They were illustrated with large diagrams and addressed the physiological aspect of the temperance question. He gave much 'useful' information on the structure and functions of the human body, the nature of food and drink, the composition

and properties of intoxicating drinks, the safety and advantage of total abstinence, and 'the perfect accordance of our principles with the teachings of science'. Audiences were generally large and attentive, many people signing the pledge at the conclusion. (Fifty was the greatest number of adherents obtained at any one lecture). Audiences would have been predominantly middle class.⁸²

Thomas Whittaker is an excellent example of the early teetotal 'missionary'. Of working class origin, at the time James Teare was converting the south and the west of England in 1836, Whittaker was doing the same in the north and east of the country as agent of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society. He called the early teetotal platform 'one of the best schools for training any one ambitious of public life this country offered'. He was living proof of the advantages to be gained from temperance lecturing. Along with James Teare, he was a Methodist local preacher. This fact probably facilitated access to certain schools, chapels, pulpits and congregations. Originally a mill-hand, he spent most of his adult life on tour, eventually settling in Scarborough. He set up several successful newspapers and became a prominent local figure, active in campaigns for better public services, the enfranchisement of working men and for Home Rule. He became mayor of Scarborough in 1880.⁸³

The average hired agent was generally not as zealous as his unpaid counter-part. Receiving around one hundred pounds a year plus travelling expenses, they were expected to collect funds, promote the circulation of tracts and temperance periodicals, and report regularly to their employers on their work. The job could be depressing and dangerous. Hostility to temperance doctrines was still manifest more than twenty years after their initial promulgation. Agents received no pension, but on retirement an appeal was usually launched on their behalf.

The early itinerant preaching was eventually replaced by the ‘fulfilling of engagements’, the work done ‘merely by speaking in the “hall”’. Joseph Livesey lamented the trend towards delegation, but was unable to stop it.

I would rather have one good plain disinterested teetotaler who gives every week what time he has to spare to the cause, than fifty vice-presidents who do little or nothing.⁸⁴

Another type of advocate was the freelance agent. He was thrown entirely onto his own resources, working when and where he could find an appointment. Occasionally, rogue lecturers appeared who were either ill equipped for the job, of immoral character, or outright swindlers. Some societies were taken advantage of, which led to warnings in the temperance press. Livesey’s *Preston Advocate* was especially vigilant and, for example, in its March and May 1837 issues specific allegations are made against a Magnus Klien. The *Temperance Advocate and Herald Supplement* of May 2 1842 printed a caution concerning R. Parry, a temperance lecturer employed by the New British and Foreign Temperance Society. A London newspaper had reported his court appearance, when he accused two prostitutes of having robbed him after a drinking session in a brothel. The public image of the movement was very important and could be seriously affected by adverse press coverage of an unsuitable agent. A motion moved by a Mr. Early of Witney at the second annual meeting of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society in London on May 17 1838, stated: ‘That in order to prevent, as far as possible, improper persons from going forth as public advocates of the cause, the societies are earnestly recommended to exercise the utmost caution in the employment of travelling agents’. The N.B.F.T.S. was very explicit concerning this problem. Anxious to nip it in the bud, the suggestion that societies ‘refuse to employ any paid lecturer who was not the accredited agent of some Association’ was made in August 1839. By 1853, the problem still persisted, however. *The Teetotal Progressionist* described how the disgrace of the early impostors was still affecting the

movement. Dishonesty was not confined to lecturers, however, and members were warned to distrust any teetotaler claiming relief, 'unless he bring an accredited letter from some person well known'.⁸⁵

By the end of the 1870s, English temperance societies employed 150 full-time workers. They were never able to dictate conditions to their employers, partly because the profession was over-stocked. In November 1853, an attempt was made at self-protection through the formation of a Temperance Advocates Association. Its aim was to provide a fund for recognised agents, 'twenty of whom at once became members'. The Association was later dissolved before having realised its objectives due to 'subsequent difficulties'.⁸⁶

The supply of temperance lecturers/agents often exceeded the demand, probably because it was a stepping stone to other careers. Most men progressed from temperance agent to commercial traveller, mission worker or insurance agent. Many took lecturing posts in other Victorian reforming societies, for professional lecturers were important in many reforming activities. Money could be made, and valuable experience gained on the temperance circuit. Lawrence Gane retired from the post of lecturer for the N.T.L. after six years in its employ, 'to enter into a professional career'. He left with the best wishes of the committee.⁸⁷

John Bartholomew Gough (1817-86)



Harrison B., *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 268.

The most successful freelance professional was the American reformed drunkard, John Bartholomew Gough, mentioned previously in connection with the N.T.L.'s lecturing activities. Born in Sandgate, Kent in 1817, the son of a day servant to a drunken and disreputable clergyman, emigrating neighbours were paid to take him with them when he was twelve years old. After an unhappy two years working on their farm, he trained as a bookbinder in New York and did a variety of menial jobs. He fell in love with the theatre when sixteen, making his stage debut in Boston with a comic song *The Water Party*, later appearing (rather ironically) in a farce *The Temperance House*. He tried his hand at ventriloquism and tragic monologues, but his speciality was one-man character monologues. He became a notorious drinker, especially after the death of his wife and newborn baby. He was persuaded by a stranger to attend a meeting of the Washingtonians, the American organisation for reclaiming drunkards, in 1842, where he signed the pledge. He immediately gave a fluent speech which delighted the audience, and from then on never gave up his lucrative 'part' ? reformed alcoholic/professional teetotaller.⁸⁸

Gough appealed to the emotions of his audiences.

He speaks in a low tone of voice and slowly at first, but the color comes to his face, the shadow of the feeling in his heart, the banner of the thoughts marching to the front of his brain. [?] Every listener is attentive. The interest is seen in the “sea of upturned faces.” The orator rounds his periods and polishes his sentences without knowing it. He is an actor and orator. Garrick did not excel him in mimicry, [?].⁸⁹

Not all references to Gough were complimentary, however. *Punch* called him ‘the teetotalling spouter’.⁹⁰ The Rev. George Gilfillan wrote very disparagingly of him; ‘In Gough, the degradation of the lecturing platform is perfect. His popularity as a speaker is a blot on the age’. He continued;

His low mimicries, his jumpings to and fro, the *barefaced plagiarisms* in which he indulges, his eternal self-repetitions, the vulgarity and coarseness of the whole display, ? are simply disgusting, and not only stamp indelible disgrace on his numerous admirers, but do discredit to Mrs Stowe, who recommended him ere he came, in language which would have required some qualification if applied to Burke or Cicero.⁹¹

Not only was his style criticised. Despite his success and the enormous popularity he attained, he was unable to shake off censure concerning his fees and expenses. While it was not uncommon for amateur speakers to offer their services gratuitously, Gough was charging twelve guineas a lecture at the height of his speaking career in the 1850s. His speaking was cast in the light of a commercial venture by detractors, which tainted the good that came from it. However, the financial argument was a two-edged sword, for although Gough made a lot of money, he was also responsible for bringing in a considerable amount. For example, for three speaking engagements at Exeter Hall and one at Shadwell in 1857 the N.T.L. paid Gough £63 17s 3d. Printing and the rent of the hall cost the League a further £93 5s 6d ? £157 2s 9d in all. Proceeds from the four orations were £273 17s 6d, however, meaning a substantial net profit. Gough was estimated in 1865 to have an annual income of at least 10,000 dollars from platform appearances, successive

editions of his *Autobiography* and collections of his speeches. In 1886, Gough collapsed from a stroke in mid-speech and died a few days later.⁹²

Many of Gough's audience signed the pledge at the end of a meeting, (1,600 signed in London alone in 1859), thereby momentarily at least increasing the ranks of abstainers. The N.T.L. naively believed that most, being of 'considerable intelligence and influence' who signed under 'enlightened conviction', would keep their pledge and be examples to others.⁹³ Certainly their behaviour would have been noted and conclusions drawn by their 'social inferiors', but there is surely a similarity between the way Gough's 'thrilling eloquence' worked on his mainly middle class audience and the way the rougher working class reformed drunkard worked on his lower class listeners through emotional personal testimony. The end result must have been similar, and the realisation of the harmful effects of strong drink identical. The question of whether it is better to give up something harmful because one has intellectual backing for such a decision is rather a moot one. The action itself is more important than the reasons for it, leaving the N.T.L. with fewer reasons to gloat than it supposed.

Setting up local teetotal societies

Joseph Livesey spelt out clearly the prerequisites of a successful temperance society as early as January 1 1833. In *The Moral Reformer* of that date, he set out how to begin a society. Thus, it was advised that after the formation of a provisional committee of a few friends of temperance, tracts should be distributed and a few well-known speakers invited to a public meeting. After explanation of the objective, a committee should be appointed and rules adopted. The 'fundamental principle' or pledge of the society having been previously drawn up, everyone wishing to sign and become a member should be

invited to do so at the end of the meeting. Livesey included details concerning the pledge, rules, officers (treasurer, secretary, depository, registrar, visitors, captains and superintendents), membership cards, books, tracts, meetings, tea parties, temperance houses and petitioning. Although the plan was for temperance societies, it was reiterated later when teetotal societies were contemplated. Most temperance/teetotal societies seem to have been run along the lines outlined by Livesey, indicating the popularity of his strategy. Obviously, not all societies were equally successful, the dynamism and efficiency of individual officers and members being the overriding factor for success.⁹⁴

It was made clear that successful temperance societies did not depend solely on having a large membership. Quality was more important than quantity. With this principle in mind, Livesey advised caution against a rush to obtain as many members as possible without due caution as to the preparedness for signing the pledge. It was all too easy for previously 'consistent' members to return 'like the dog to its vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire'.⁹⁵ This was damaging to the society's reputation and demoralising for the temperance workers themselves. A suggestion was made to readers of *The Preston Temperance Advocate* that they should follow the regulation introduced in Preston, whereby a prospective member must undergo a trial period of a month. If he satisfied the committee of his consistent behaviour, then he was allowed to sign the pledge and was admitted as a full member: 'purity and consistency are much more important than numbers'.⁹⁶ Livesey considered that if this advice were followed it would stem criticism of societies that boasted inflated membership numbers, and cut down the opportunities for ridiculing ineffective societies of conspicuous backsliders. A fundamental difference can be seen between the cautious approach to membership adopted by Livesey, and the 'rush for numbers' approach favoured by large organisations such as the N.T.L.

Teetotal methodology

In terms of working practices, teetotallers organised themselves along the lines of the Methodists, dividing each town into sections headed by a captain. In Preston there were from twenty to thirty visitors in 1836. The captain and his team usually worked in pairs. They visited the poor and neglected, dispensed tracts and advice, encouraged attendance at church and the instruction of children, and generally offered support. Men and women were persuaded to attend a meeting of the Temperance Society where they would hear a talk on the evils of intemperance, often by a reclaimed drunkard. They would then be invited to sign the pledge. Subsequent visits ensued, in order to offer support or give remonstrance for backsliding. Encouragement and hope were always on hand. In February 1839, the Marylebone branch of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society's Western Auxiliary had nine visitors who reported weekly on those they had visited.

[...] it is only by pursuing such a course we can know who stands to his pledge and who does not; [...] this is the way we get at the reformed drunkards, by calling to see them at *home*. They are then encouraged to persevere.⁹⁷

Joseph Livesey's son, William, when speaking at the Crystal Palace Jubilee on September 5 1882, said;

The extensive visitation, which was thoroughly and continuously carried out in those early days, led to the best results, not only in strengthening the hands of the weak, but in converting those who had not joined the society. This work of sympathy and self-sacrifice was a most potent instrument in building up the society.⁹⁸

Joseph Livesey gave detailed advice on temperance visiting in *Livesey's Progressionist*. This included what opening lines to use; ("We have called to leave you a temperance paper this morning; have you any teetotallers here?"), the futility of extended

argument, ('much better to go on to another house'), and the benefit of talking to the man rather than the woman of the house.⁹⁹

Emphasis was laid on tract distribution from the very beginning of teetotalism. Many were distributed free while others were sold at temperance meetings and other temperance venues. Despite the overwhelming belief in the beneficial effects of tracts, however, by 1867 the N.T.L. was lamenting 'this much neglected department of Temperance labour'.¹⁰⁰ The neglect coincided with the dependence on hired workers rather than volunteers, together with strained financial resources, and represented a more inward-looking phase of the movement.

Opposition

Discrimination, contempt and ridicule were often the lot of the teetotal advocate. Henry Anderton, 'the poet', is a case in point. He was one of the first to preach total abstinence in Preston around 1830, but lost his saddler's business and was reduced to extreme poverty when the influential publicans, many of whom were coach proprietors involved in stagecoach travel, boycotted him. In 1839, medical men were said to be in danger of losing their practice if they were known to be total abstainers, for total abstinence was 'so unpopular'.

Opposition was often felt by the travelling teetotal lecturers, especially in the 1830s. John Clegg Booth frequently found no temperance friends to greet him at the place arranged for a meeting. Singing the popular song 'I'd be a butterfly', he would walk through the streets amid ridicule until he could attract an audience.¹⁰¹

Thomas Swindlehurst travelled the country as a temperance missionary and 'had to encounter every kind of opposition, contempt and ridicule [but] he held on [and was]

faithful to the end'. 'Riotous and drunken persons', sometimes in the pay of local publicans, disturbed meetings in many districts, so much so that occasionally the law was called in to restore order and disturbers were fined by the local magistrate. The author Norman Longmate recounted how, as James Teare's teetotal fame spread in 1836, 'the opposition hardened'. Non-co-operation, especially in terms of the loan of premises for meetings, groans, hisses, rotten eggs, physical abuse and general rowdy behaviour were not uncommon receptions for him.¹⁰² Pilkington, again referring to Teare's 1836 mission, wrote more graphically;

He left home, ease, pleasure, and bore insult, reproach, violent and brutal opposition. Sometimes he was fallen upon by mobs and beaten in the streets. Windows and pews of meeting places were broken. [?] the work certainly demanded the persistence of an apostle, the courage of a confessor, and the sacrifice of a martyr.¹⁰³

The 'Drunken Committee' of 1834¹⁰⁴

In 1834, the appointment of a House of Commons Select Parliamentary Committee to look into the problem of drunkenness, the 'Drunken Committee' as it ironically became known, marked a turning point regarding the official attitude towards drunkenness. It was finally considered problematic and worthy of parliamentary attention. The 450-page volume of evidence and the committee's report, despite being criticised for having a pro-temperance bias, are worth examining in detail for they were often cited by temperance advocates decades after their publication, and long after the general public had forgotten them.¹⁰⁵

In May 1834, after his presentation in the House of 235 petitions demanding an inquiry into the causes of drunkenness, the now radical MP James Silk Buckingham (1787-

1855) began calling for a Select Committee on Drunkenness. Parliamentary time had been devoted previously to the beerhouses, (a Commons inquiry into the sale of beer in 1833), but not the gin shops, which Buckingham considered to be 'a far greater evil'. Buckingham, a teetotaller since 1832, was ridiculed in the House almost as soon as he arrived there in 1833, and this attitude conditioned somewhat the reception of his proposal. According to Harrison, it was Buckingham's unpopularity in the House as much as the scant recognition of the 'problem' of drunkenness that influenced the (negative) reaction to the deliberations of the 'Drunken Committee'. There was even opposition from other radicals, albeit on different grounds. Joseph Hume, for example, believed that the temperance campaign distracted people from the real solution to all the social evils, education. William Cobbett was against it because he saw restrictive drink legislation as yet another restriction on the working man.

After moving for the inquiry on June 3 1834, the Select Committee of thirty-six members was set up under Buckingham's chairmanship. Nineteen of the thirty-six had voted for the inquiry. Ten came from northern industrial towns and three were teetotallers (Sir George Strickland, Joseph Brotherton and George Williams). Other members included Edward Knatchbull, High Tory opponent of the 1830 Beer Bill, the Quaker Joseph Pease, Edward Baines, proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury* and active in the Leeds anti-spirits society, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Althorp (Chancellor of the Exchequer). Neither Peel nor Althorp seems to have attended the committee. The evangelical Andrew Agnew, very unpopular at the time for his attempts to restrict Sunday recreation, later joined the committee. Fifty witnesses were interviewed in twenty-two days between June 9 and July 28. The report was presented on August 5. Reliance on the preformed ideas of the chairman prompted the Hammonds to describe it as 'almost undiluted Buckingham'.¹⁰⁶

The committee heard numerous witnesses confirm the increase in drunkenness among the working classes. Ellis Cunliffe Lister MP, member of the committee, testified to this in Bradford (Q. 3027). Mark More, a teetotaler who worked with various charities in London, also attested to the increase (Q. 3). R. E. Broughton, police magistrate at Worship-Street and barrister, affirmed that the increase was 'especially noticeable at the Monday morning [court] session'. He attributed the cause to the 1830 Beer Act (Q. 121). Colonel Charles Rowan, commissioner of the New Police, said drunkenness had seemingly decreased since 1832 for less drunkards were being taken to the police station when found drunk on the street. He did not attribute this to any improvement in the moral habits of the population, however, but rather on the effect of new rules introduced by the Secretary of State. Instead of the drunk being released the next day without charge, anyone brought to the station had to be charged and taken before a magistrate. This made the police more reluctant to act, and only 'dead drunks' were taken in, or those found committing an offence. He stated that in 1831 less than 32,000 were taken into custody for drunkenness or being drunk and disorderly. In 1832, the figure was 32,380 for the same offence, and in 1833 it was 29,380. Of these, two thirds were male and one third female (Q. 248-9). Broughton confirmed Rowan's analysis of the reduction in people charged with drunkenness (Q. 116).

Edwin Chadwick spoke at length on information gleaned from his work concerning the New Poor Law, and stated that intemperance had increased pauperism greatly. For example, according to Mott, contractor for management of the poor in Lambeth, it was the cause of $\frac{9}{10}$ of the poverty there (Q. 311-3). Dr Ellis, physician at the Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum, testified to the various physical conditions caused by drink, such as brain disease and stomach problems. He said that drinking alcohol, especially fermented spirits,

led to lunacy. Of the twenty-eight new cases admitted in 1833, nineteen were drunkards (Q. 455-517).

The extent to which men were 'forced' to drink was also shown, especially by Charles Saunders, a coal-whipper (Q. 333-454). Publicans acting as sub-contractors for coalship captains encouraged drinking on the part of the individual coal-whippers, and awarded the jobs to the 'best' drinkers. After work they had to go to the pub again to receive their wages. They were often kept waiting and 'obliged' to buy liquor. If they did not, they would not be awarded another job. The bribes for the captains came from the coal-whippers' wages. In this way, about half of their daily wage was spent on drink.¹⁰⁷ Men were also 'forced' to drink because they were often paid as a group with a £5 or £10 note that could only be changed at the public house. The publican only changed the note if a part of it was 'drunk' on his premises (Q. 3035).¹⁰⁸

Some witnesses testified to the detrimental effects of drinking in the armed forces. Evidence was forwarded in favour of Buckingham's campaign against drinking on board ship. Lieutenant Arnold advocated withdrawing the spirit rations served to seamen, and substituting it for something 'more nutritious', as in America. He attested that spirit drinking was very popular in the navy and that the most frequent breaches of discipline were connected with drunkenness (Q. 541-50). Mark Moore described the practises of the crimps. They preyed on the sailors and tricked them into giving up their wages, especially if they were induced to go to the public house in order to 'treat' the crimp for his kindness: 'he soon becomes stupefied with drugged grog, and is then robbed of his hard earnings' (Q. 27). An extract from the letter of an officer who had served over nine years in a cavalry regiment, included in Appendix 4 of the Report, stated that obedience, punctuality, personal dirtiness, pawning of equipment to raise money for drink, and drunkenness itself 'stands pre-eminent among the records of soldiers' crimes, and is productive of other evils

besides breaches in discipline'. These included indebtedness to publicans, riot and disturbance in barracks and streets.

I do not hesitate to say that drunkenness is the bane of the British army; nine offences out of ten are cases of drunkenness.¹⁰⁹

John Richard Farre M.D., military surgeon for forty-one years, called the gin shops 'whited sepulchres, full of rottenness and dead men's bones' (Q. 1207).

The committee heard numerous eyewitness accounts of children kept from school because their shoes were in the 'pop shop', or of women who had stripped off their petticoats in the bar in order to buy more drink. Mark Moore stated that thirty per cent of poor relief, often called 'gin money', was estimated by one relieving officer to be spent the same day on gin (Q. 54 & Q. 84 and Edwin Chadwick Q. 313).

The report of the Select Committee on Drunkenness was laid before the House of Commons on August 5 1834. 'It appears to your committee', it began;

that the vice of Intoxication has been for some years past on the decline in the higher and middle ranks of society; but has increased within the same period among the labouring classes, and exists at present to a very great extent in the population of England, Scotland and Ireland, and in the seaport and manufacturing towns, as well as in the agricultural districts, including in its victims, men, women, and even children.¹¹⁰

It spelt out the consequences of intoxicating drink, along with nineteen immediate remedies and three 'ultimate or prospective' remedies. The former included a recommendation that all licences should be annually renewable under magistrate's supervision, and that their number should be related to population size and density. Closing hours should be uniform and earlier, and spirit-shops should be open to public view. Alternative recreation should be encouraged in the form of coffee-houses, parks, and zoos. The latter should be free on Sundays. Reading-rooms and parish libraries should be established in every district. Music bands and 'scientific and mechanical lectures and

experiments' should be provided. Duties on reading matter, sugar and non-alcoholic drinks should be reduced, temperance societies encouraged and a national system of education established. Ultimate remedies, to be applied when public opinion allowed, included a total prohibition on the importation and distillation of ardent spirits. Details of these proposals can be seen in Appendix 5.

The imaginative recommendations were ahead of their day. Continuous regulation and gradual improvement of drinking places were later incorporated in Bruce's licensing bill of 1871, for example. The nineteenth century saw, in general, a gradual reduction in pub opening hours. Taxes on tea, sugar and coffee were reduced, army spirits rations were abolished, benefit societies that met in public houses were increasingly discredited, and wage-paying in drink shops was stopped through efforts by Lord Shaftsbury, among others. The proposals for public parks, libraries and education were even more farsighted for they were only largely achieved in the twentieth century.¹¹¹

Despite the fact that many recommendations were later adopted, the Report met with the predicted response both inside and outside the House. Hansard recorded that the Clerk read the report, 'which was accompanied by much cheering and laughter'.¹¹² Some of those who opposed it were disillusioned supporters who had resigned from the Committee in protest against Buckingham's allegedly biased selection of witnesses. Francis Place, who had appeared as a witness, believed the report rested more on emotive testimony than empirical facts.¹¹³ He felt his own testimony had been ignored, (he had stated his belief that intemperance had decreased in London among the working class, resulting in a sober élite, and that legislation was ineffective as a solution to intemperance: Q. 2007-8, and Q. 2016). He bitterly criticised the biased selection of witnesses and the refusal to consult his own nominees. Temperance sympathisers, (John Dunlop, John Edgar, Joseph Livesey, William Collins) had been preferred to the pub-goer. Statistics were

offered, sometimes in prepared speeches that the committee allowed to be read to them.¹¹⁴ Indeed, Place was so outraged by the report that he wrote *Defence of the People*, against the 'Drunken Committee' and 'that crazy bigot' Agnew.¹¹⁵ Others disagreed entirely with the proposal to make spirit drinking illegal (Daniel O'Connell was one such person. He later changed his mind and even signed the pledge in 1840, only to recant a year later, see page 183). The MP Joseph Brotherton, a fellow temperance radical, supported Buckingham, but he was in the minority. Efforts to prevent publication were thwarted, and the evidence and report were both finally published separately in a cheap form, and also 'by nearly all the newspapers in Great Britain'. The reaction of the London papers was almost universally hostile, that of the provincial papers less so.¹¹⁶

It is interesting to note that the temperance historians paint a very positive picture of the whole affair, which only serves to highlight their lack of objectivity. For example, Couling stated: 'The whole of this evidence, together with the committee's report, and Mr. Buckingham's speech, was afterwards printed in a cheap form, and widely circulated, and had a very beneficial influence in promoting the temperance movement'.¹¹⁷ Joseph Livesey is an exception. He praised Buckingham's forward thinking and remonstrated with those shortsighted enough to ridicule the recommendations such as O'Connell and Hawes. He preferred to mention the negative reaction of the press and suggest the reasons for such an attitude. These were either ignorance, 'the product of dissipation' or the wish to please their numerous publican subscribers.¹¹⁸ Buckingham subsequently staunchly defended the proposals in lecture tours around the country and was prominent in furthering the temperance cause throughout his life.¹¹⁹

An 1855 Select Committee of Inquiry into the working of the 1854 Sunday Beer Act was much criticised by temperance supporters for its biased composition and selection of witnesses. The mover for the Committee, F. H. F. Berkeley, was elected Chairman and

named fifteen committee members, nine of whom were avowedly hostile to the 1854 Act, only three being in its favour. These censures were identical to those levelled at the 1834 Committee by its opponents. It seems that neither side was averse to using packed committees in order to obtain the advantage.¹²⁰

Temperance halls

Temperance halls were built throughout the country for a number of reasons. The most obvious was to counteract the lack of suitable premises in which to hold meetings. They also freed societies from the observation of suspicious clergy or hostile publicans, showed the public that the temperance society was 'doing well', and encouraged the participation of those who refused to attend meetings in sectarian rooms.

The first permanent, converted building was opened by James Teare at Burnley on December 24 1837. The first custom-built hall, however, was built by Bradford Temperance Society in 1837, beginning operations in early 1838.¹²¹ The 'London and Provincial Temperance Halls Company' was later established, (date unknown), for the purpose of erecting suitable Temperance Halls, with rooms for committees, clubs, benefit societies, public meetings etc.¹²²

The halls were almost identical to non-conformist chapels. Their erection involved temperance societies in extensive fund-raising that some argued deflected from their true mission of reclaiming drunkards. Joseph Livesey and Thomas Whittaker were especially critical. Livesey thought that;

[...] whenever a society begins to build, and especially with deficient means, the efforts of the leading members become directed not so much to instructing the ignorant, reforming the vicious, and restoring the backsliders, as to devising "ways and means" to raise money.¹²³

Whittaker stated that in some cases, after construction ‘there was much difficulty in knowing what to do with them’. Construction often brought debt, and sometimes it made teetotallers into a sect. Halls, although sometimes justifiable and appreciated, could also bring trouble and disgrace. Looking back from 1885, he believed that if more patience had been exercised, the problem of refusal of premises would eventually have been overcome, and temperance halls would not have been necessary.¹²⁴

Most temperance halls were constructed after the 1850s, when the movement was becoming more formalised. They were part of the natural progression of the movement, but were usually sold once the temperance societies could not afford to pay for their upkeep. The history of the Bradford Temperance Hall is indicative of the financial problems the halls entailed when teetotalism lost much of its populist fervour from the late 1850s. In 1862, there was a threat to sell in order to pay the outstanding mortgage of £1,000. £470 of this was overdue to the Beaumont family. Efforts were made to raise the money, and a bazaar in that year raised £700. In 1869, with only 450 members and subscribers, and receipts and expenditure around £250, ‘another great effort’ was made to reduce the debt, £800 being raised through subscriptions, sales of work and ‘entertainments’. In 1879, ‘great alterations and improvements’ were made to the Hall, paid for by the proceeds of a well-attended bazaar that received ‘distinguished patronage’. It continued to serve the Bradford temperance workers so that by 1897, Field could say;

The Hall of this, the first Temperance Society in England, has been a battle field for many conflicts with drink, and some of the greatest orators have made its walls re-echo with their oratory.¹²⁵

The Bradford Temperance Society published its last annual report in 1885, although it was only officially disbanded in 1950. The Hall, after being used as a cinema for a short time, and after rooms being let to Mormons, Spiritualists and a fent merchant, was eventually sold in 1927 to the Independent Labour Party. After payment of the outstanding

mortgage, the proceeds of the sale were £1,500, which was invested in Bradford Corporation.¹²⁶

Temperance hotels

Temperance hotels, first established in the early 1830s, were set up to cater for the temperance public, especially commercial travellers. This class often complained that the public house or inn was the only suitable place for obtaining decent board and lodging whilst away from home, but that the temptations to drink were ever-present.

Many temperance hotels up to 1872 were not of the best quality, however. Although some made their owners handsome profits, many were run by people who had failed at 'normal' inn keeping and by reformed drunkards, who, although lacking aptitude for the job, were set up by local sympathisers. They were usually of the working class, and herein lay a problem. The quality and type of food and accommodation required by commercial travellers and others of a certain social position and education were beyond the capabilities of the working man's wife to provide. Therefore, many failed for lack of support. (The Preston temperance hotel, the first to be opened in Britain in 1833, was only saved from bankruptcy when Mrs Livesey stepped in to run it for a year).¹²⁷

Inedible food, dirty facilities and overcharging were the most common complaints against these hotels. Many were said to be one remove from an ordinary working man's home – 'dingy-looking places, scantily furnished, dimly lighted, and awkwardly arranged, with nothing up to the mark, except the charges, which in many cases were positively in excess of a first-class inn or boarding-house'. A further concern was that many of the hotels were kept by 'professedly' temperance men. They were often not personal abstainers, however, and could be 'bribed' to allow drink to be brought in at meal times.

By 1865 there were said to be 200 temperance hotels in England, most of which had 'brought a reproach upon the movement, because of their mean appearance and unsuitable management'. Temperance hotels 'continued to come in three grades, bad, very bad and appalling'.¹²⁸

A further problem encountered by temperance hotels was their use by thieves, prostitutes and the like as a cover for their activities once the public houses and beer shops had closed. Common lodging houses suffered from this problem on a larger scale. The problem was highlighted by a grand jury at York assizes in November 1850, and subsequently reported in *The British Temperance Advocate*.¹²⁹

In their defence, it was often argued that teetotal commercial travellers and others patronised ordinary inns and boarding houses in preference to equally good teetotal ones in the same town. Valuable support was thus denied to proprietors who had often invested heavily in their establishments.

Not all was doom and gloom. Burns stated that the six temperance hotels in London in 1861 were 'creditably managed'. The Trevelyan Temperance Hotels in Manchester and London, (the Manchester building built and furnished in 1865 at a cost of £17,000), and the formation in 1872 of the Temperance Hotels Company Ltd. were positive initiatives. These were obviously an exception, however, and confined to the larger cities. The travelling public of the smaller towns relied on private enterprise which only improved substantially from the 1870s, for example through Ronald McDougall's M^cAlpine Refreshment Houses.¹³⁰

Advertisements for temperance hotels were frequently to be found in the temperance literature. The new temperance hotel and coffee rooms in Aldersgate Street, London, was opened on April 4 1836 when about eighty people sat down to tea. The hotel subsequently advertised its 'superior accommodation' in *The Temperance Journal*. A

register was kept of advocates, and others, ‘willing to assist the cause during their stay in town’. In 1855, Mr Taylor’s Temperance Hotel in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, provided the ‘luxury of hot and cold baths and shower baths’.¹³¹ The poem below, taken from the *Preston Temperance Advocate*,¹³² does not stint in singing the virtues of these establishments.

Friends of temperance, who require
 Rest, refreshment, food or fire,
 Or an hour may wish to spend
 O’er the news or with a friend,
 Hither come, and draw a chair,
 While you read our bill of fare. [?]
 Cocoa, coffee, bread and toast,
 Good as any house can boast;
 Eggs and ham, if you can stop,
 Beef and mutton, steak and chop; [?]
 Pleasant cordials, pure and fine,
 And, if wanted, Adam’s wine,
 Food and fluids, these, we think,
 Sober men should eat and drink,
 And as such of course we rank you,
 Try us, pay us, and we’ll thank you.

Entertainment

There were various attempts to provide entertainment for the teetotaller and increase a sense of belonging that had often been lost through self-imposed social isolation from the drinking world. A distinct set of entertainers were popular, for example the Shapcott and Edwards families of temperance musicians, and the teetotal singer Simeon Smithard.¹³³ (Smithard was agent for the South Midland Temperance Union).¹³⁴ Mrs W. Saunders and Mrs J. H. Esterbrooke gave frequent piano performances for the N.T.L. As Harrison claims, many teetotal lecturers whose performances resembled music-hall ‘turns’ or theatrical acts, (see J. B. Gough’s popular lectures or even Livesey’s *Malt Liquor Lecture*), were part of the creation of a separate sub culture.¹³⁵ The sub culture had links to

the dissenting churches, members often belonging to both temperance and dissenting organisations, and there were similarities in the form of the dramatic addresses. The striking similarity between Wesleyan and teetotal sermons can be seen from Obelkevich's description of the former;

It was this aim [to make conversions] that gave Methodist sermons their character as 'performance utterances'. Because the preacher began with a purpose rather than a theme [...]; he employed the advocate's arts of tone, rhetoric, and gesture; the result was a performance, an almost theatrical occasion, an entertainment. The congregation for their part were participants rather than onlookers, actively responding and contributing to the event [...]. In these favourable conditions ministers and local preachers developed an enormous variety of techniques and styles.¹³⁶

There was a vogue for temperance bands that Whittaker thought 'a folly and a mistake', especially when financed by temperance societies. He estimated that one out of twenty eventually folded, leaving a legacy of wasted money and useless instruments. He did not mind a group 'kitting themselves out' and calling themselves a 'temperance' band, for the responsibility was theirs. Some such bands had been successful. However, he thought that doing so at a society's expense was a mistake. This view is similar to the one he held concerning the erection of temperance halls.¹³⁷

Tea drinking

The *Grub-street Journal*, in 1737, contained a dire warning in its article 'A Foolish Malediction on Tea'. Complaining of the population's habit of 'sipping warm water in a mincing, effeminate manner, once or twice a day', the author derided its lack of nutrition and its propensity to 'irritate and fret the nerves'. Terrible consequences were prophesised if the government did not prohibit its use. These included the necessity within a generation of importing foreigners to do hard labour, and for the defence of the nation. Most of the

political evils of the previous twenty years were blamed on the unrestricted use of tea. Clearly, one hundred years later none of these predictions had materialised. On the contrary, the popularity of tea had grown and even taken on a public role.¹³⁸

From the 1830s, tea drinking was promoted by teetotallers as an alternative to alcoholic drinks, and the tea meeting was a popular social event for most of them. A refreshment of tea and 'eatables' would be served to members, followed by a public meeting. The commemoration of a society's anniversary often involved a tea meeting. The Bath Temperance Association's third anniversary tea meeting, 1839, 'was respectably and most numerously attended'. Entrance to the tea was usually only on production of a ticket, bought beforehand. This is understandable as large numbers were usually involved in the anniversary celebrations and society funds obviously did not stretch to supporting such an expense. (Around 800 tickets were sold for the aforementioned Bath function, 'but there was a demand for many more'). However, this practice meant that the poorest were (intentionally?) excluded from the social event, being admitted only for the subsequent public meeting. School rooms were often the venue chosen for the tea meeting, being of a suitable size, and they would be decorated with evergreens, flowers, and banners 'bearing appropriate descriptions'. Joseph Livesey gave detailed suggestions in 1835 concerning the organization of large tea parties, covering aspects such as locale, decorations, the grouping of 'customers', waiters, provisions, and charge. Livesey had gained experience from the social functions in Preston. The first Preston Society tea party was held in July 1832 and was attended by 1,200 people. Processions, flags, banners and band music accompanied the festivities.¹³⁹

Another typical tea-drinking occasion was at the temperance festival. The first Festival of the Spitalfields and Bethnal Green Branch of the Eastern and Tower Hamlets Auxiliary of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society was held on December 26

1828. Four hundred and fifty people sat down to tea, followed by a public meeting, 'admission by ticket'. Many addresses were heard, including three from women. Christmas anthems and hymns were sung and nearly fifty new members signed the pledge.¹⁴⁰

A notable festival meeting took place in Wilsden, West Yorkshire, in April 1835, and deserves mentioning for it became part of temperance history. It lasted two days and served tea to 2,700 people. Beginning with processions along the winding lanes to the village church, the Rev. Barber occupied the chair and opened the meeting with singing and prayer. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Thompson of Halifax, Mr. Pollard the agent for Yorkshire, and the Rev. Edward Parsons of Leeds. A tent 135 feet long and 54 feet wide 'supported by three rows of pillars, eight in each row, and adorned with flags, evergreens, and artificial flowers' housed the 2,700 tea-partakers. On the second day, a temperance prayer meeting was held in the morning, and a public meeting in the afternoon addressed by Joseph Livesey and James Silk Buckingham. Another tea and an evening meeting brought the demonstration to a close.¹⁴¹

Many temperance periodicals describe the 'steaming urns' with enthusiasm. In the October 1835 issue of *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, detailed instructions can be found of how to construct a stove/boiler for making tea or coffee 'to be fixed in a bar or temperance dram shop, or on the end of a counter'. Information on temperance drinks also abounded, with recipes to suit all tastes. In the November 1835 issue of *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, for example, Thomas Jackson gives instructions for making Orange Sherbet, Ratafia de Cassis¹⁴², Elder Cordial, Lemonade, Compound Ginger Cordial and Cream of Barbadoes, along with information on storing such drinks.

Temperance processions

The public temperance procession, with its bands and flags, was generally a well-organised and colourful event. The hey-day of the big procession was the late 1830s and early 1840s. After that, having answered the object of showing the strength of the movement in numbers and resolution, being rather expensive and often the object of hecklers and other forms of opposition, they became increasingly infrequent. Early teetotal processions featured reformed drunkards in as great a number as possible. Well-clothed and sober, holding banners aloft and often bedecked in medals and regalia, they were living proof of the benefits of teetotalism. 'Everybody did their best, and put on their best'. The huge gatherings at Russell Square, Bedford Square and Lincoln's Fields were memorable. The organisers of a huge United Whit Monday procession that was held in London in 1839, made up of members of the two total abstinence associations, the New British and Foreign Society (long pledge) and the 'Suppression' Society (short pledge), surely exaggerated when they claimed that there were: 'a number of societies, the extension and perpetuation of whose principles, from generation to generation, have been more owing to their annual, or stated processions, than to any other cause'. Membership of the various societies affiliated to the 'Suppression' Society at this time was around 20,000.¹⁴³ The remarkable composition of the procession of the following year is given below;

Three Military Trumpeters, on Horseback.
Large Banner of the Executive Committee.
Gentlemen on HORSEBACK, from all the Divisions.
Large Banner of the City and North of London Auxiliary.
Band of the Scots Fusilier Guards.
Members on foot, from the Divisions, in the following order:?
1. Northern Division
2. Rechabite Tents
3. Southern Division
4. Metropolitan Catholic Association

5. Western Division

6. Eastern Division

Each Auxiliary to be headed by their Banners and Bands, with their Flags interspersed.

The various branches headed by their Banners.

The Youths' Societies in the Division, headed by their Banners.

The General Directors on Horseback.

CARRIAGES

Vice-Presidents of the Society

Executive Committee of the Society

Officers of the Society

Agents of the Society

Carriages of the various Divisions, in the same order as the Foot.

Van of Mr. J. Pasco, of 12, Paternoster-row, with a PRINTING PRESS, and distributing tracts as it proceeds through the route.

Vans of the various Divisions in the same order as the Foot.¹⁴⁴

The procession was said to number between ten and twelve thousand. Couling noted that it probably had an uplifting effect for the members, but doubted whether many converts were obtained. The 1840 procession entailed considerable financial debt for many smaller societies. He concluded that the general effect of large processions was 'to have done almost as much harm to the cause as they have done good' (again, reminiscent of arguments against temperance halls and bands).

The 'greatest wisdom and judgement' was needed, especially in London, if a procession was not to be a failure. A failure was worse than no procession at all. The united procession was discontinued after 1841 because of the confusion caused by brewers' men trying to break up the march, 'and other considerations'.¹⁴⁵

In 1846, London hosted a Whit Monday procession of mainly working men. Burns stated participants 'numbered some thousands'.¹⁴⁶ However, according to Couling it was unsuccessful, with only an estimated 2,500 taking part. The daily papers quickly seized on the low numbers to justify the idea that teetotalism was on the decline, creating an unfavourable impression on the public.¹⁴⁷ The 'unfavourable state of the weather' was blamed on the poor showing at the first anniversary procession of the Bideford Branch

Teetotal Society on December 26 1838. Five hundred and seven members were claimed for the society. Fine weather would have increased numbers and made ‘a more striking appearance’.¹⁴⁸ This flimsy excuse, no doubt containing an element of truth, flies in the face of the usual cant associated with any public teetotal endeavour at that time. The Dublin Committee wrote after their successful parade of one thousand people on St. Patrick’s Day, 1839, that they could ‘smile at the sardonic sneers of the mercenary portion of the public press’. In July 1839, *The Temperance Journal* was praising the non-temperance press for the wonderful change that had come about in the general treatment of temperance.¹⁴⁹ As noted above, these large-scale processions were much less frequent by the 1870s as the temperance movement once more became ‘respectable’ and pressing financial considerations could not be ignored. The smaller processions carried on well into the twentieth century, however.

Temperance processions were easy targets for disruptive elements in the crowd or the sceptical pen-pusher. Sam Sly produced a *Sketch* of the first procession of witness held in Bristol, in June 1837;

Every vehicle, from a fly to a wheelbarrow, was in requisition for the conveyance of the most opulent and *inveterate soakers* [...] The procession was headed by the bearer of a tin tea-kettle on a crimson cushion[...] then
A COFFEE POT on a Tea Tray.
A PUMP, on two men’s shoulders, handle bound with blue ribbon.
A boy, with his head in a bucket.
Two young ladies, with a set of tea service [...]
Four men, carrying a hogshead, inverted [...]
A carthorse [...] and water cart.¹⁵⁰

People were often judged by their physical constitution, the heavier the better. Teetotallers were often ridiculed as poor, thin-looking creatures, hence the solicitations for the twenty-four stone ‘Slender Billy’, William Howarth, and the sixteen stone Thomas Swindlehurst of Preston to head teetotal processions. Thomas Whittaker related how a Mr. Biscombe of Wakefield, an able early teetotal advocate of very thin

constitution and smallpox-marked face, was heckled ferociously while parading in the town's temperance procession. The parish sexton ran after him, offering him the rusty key to the 'bone house', begging him to return quickly before he frightened the women and children. He never paraded again.¹⁵¹

Temperance fêtes and gatherings in the open, on commons and moors, were also very popular, especially in the 1830s and 1840s. Summer fêtes were held in parks and grounds loaned for the occasion by sympathetic owners. The Crystal Palace was the venue for huge summer fêtes from 1851. 30,692 people were present on September 3 1867, many having travelled long distances. They were treated to a choral concert given by 5,000 United Kingdom Band of Hope Union children, an instrumental concert by the Crystal Palace Company's band, a grand display of all the fountains, cascades and waterfalls, and other amusements.¹⁵² The biggest attendance was 66,957 people in 1883.

The Press

The national and local press often took a stand on drink issues, helping to form opinion and bolster one faction or another. This was particularly noticeable where legislative issues were at stake. The Tory *Preston Pilot* deplored the infringement of the magistrates' authority caused by the 1830 Beer Act, whilst the Whig *Preston Chronicle* welcomed the cheapening of beer to the poor resulting from the same Act.¹⁵³

In general, however, the national and provincial press was at best neutral, at worst hostile to the temperance movement. Around 1864, F. R. Lees lamented its lack of reason and conscience. It was the 'mere tool and slave of selfish interests and parties, or of cliques and prejudices', and had rarely shown respect for temperance opinions. On the contrary, it had proved itself dishonest and incapable of dealing with them.¹⁵⁴

Being accustomed to a hostile press may have caused the N.T.L. to praise the ‘respectful silence’ of the ‘higher sections’ of the newspaper and periodical press in 1867. It regarded the lack of press attention as testimony to the League’s progress!¹⁵⁵

Temperance events were not totally ignored by the press, however. Temperance processions, large meetings etc. were often reported in the local newspapers. The author of the leading article in *The Temperance Journal*, ‘The Press’, exhorted temperance friends to encourage this attention by buying issues of papers containing relevant articles. These should then be sent on to friends and temperance journals. Their publication would render it ‘the interest of the proprietors of the public press to notice their proceedings’.¹⁵⁶ Information was also passed on in the local and national press. For example, the *Bradford Observer* of February 9 1871 included a lengthy article on the British Workman Public Houses at Leeds, where only soft drinks were sold.¹⁵⁷

Temperance reformers were quick to see the importance of the national press, and were particularly important in developing the Liberal press, not only through their teetotal periodicals, but also through Liberal, denominational and local newspapers.¹⁵⁸ The teetotaller Joseph Livesey established an important provincial Liberal paper, *The Preston Guardian*, 1844, as did the teetotal pioneer lecturer Thomas Whittaker in Scarborough. Temperance advocates also published improving literature, especially of a self help character. Livesey was most proficient here (see chapter 4). John Cassell, William Collins and William Chambers produced guides, textbooks and ‘exhortations’ to the working men. John Cassell’s *Working Man’s Friend* helped pioneer the improving illustrated paper for working men. By publicising the careers of self-made men like George Stephenson it popularised this type of newspaper.

Periodicals

Joseph Livesey published a model for all future temperance periodicals when he began *The Preston Temperance Advocate* in 1834. It was designed primarily for the movement's members, and included details of teetotal social functions, doctrinal debate, 'varieties', and a woodcut. After he relinquished control in 1837 due to ill health, it later became the organ of the B.T.L. and was renamed the *National Temperance Advocate*. It was one of the leading temperance periodicals and claimed a circulation of 9,500 per issue in 1843, 4,000 of which were distributed free.

Livesey recognised the importance to the temperance movement of having cheap temperance periodicals in major towns and counties. In 1838, a year after relinquishing control of his own successful temperance paper, he wrote an article in *Livesey's Moral Reformer* urging the necessity for increasing their number. He gave details on the contents, price, and the way to set up and distribute them. A woodcut on the front page was 'indispensable', they should be well written, in a 'plain, pithy, lively style, the articles should be short and interesting, and no 'sectarian peculiarities [should] be foisted into them'.¹⁵⁹

Gradually, the national temperance organisations acquired their own periodicals, for which their agents increasingly had the responsibility of promoting circulation. Examples are the *Herald* (organ of the B.F.T.S., a 12-page monthly paper begun on January 18 1832), the *British and Foreign Temperance Advocate* (begun in January 1834, a companion to the *Herald*), the monthly *Temperance Penny Magazine* (commenced in January 1836, it replaced the two aforementioned publications), the *Temperance Intelligencer* (a teetotal publication commenced on October 8 1836), the *Weekly Record*, (organ of the N.T.L. begun in 1856), and *The Temperance Journal* (a teetotal journal first

published in 1839, organ of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society). In 1861, the temperance publisher William Tweedie estimated that in 1860/1 there were;

[...] 13 large temperance associations in the kingdom, employing 40 paid lecturers, and enjoying a united annual income of £22,000; there were three weekly newspapers with a united circulation of 25,000, six monthly magazines with a united circulation of about 10,000; and in addition there were two periodicals for young abstainers ? the *Scottish Adviser* (over 50,000) and the *Band of Hope Review* (over 250,000).¹⁶⁰

These periodicals were important for the information and encouragement they gave to interested parties, thus helping to establish a supportive temperance network. Expressions like; ‘Our society stands firm!’, ‘a more healthy-looking, good-humoured assemblage has seldom been witnessed’, and ‘during the last year we have been progressing at a steady pace’ abound. The extensive use of hyperbole and metaphor make very tedious reading a hundred and sixty years later, as the following proves; ‘A pen dipped in the sulphurous lake, and guided by an angel-hand, would be inadequate to describe the horrors of Intemperance’. ‘We must not be diverted from our work nor be hindered in setting our sails to the breeze. There are many hidden rocks, therefore, we must keep a sharp look out, that we may reach the port in safety’.¹⁶¹

In 1867, Livesey criticised temperance periodicals for printing too many ‘trashy tales’. He recognised that they attracted a certain type of reader who would not otherwise read the paper, but would rather have seen the tales replaced by material that would bring ‘enlightenment and conviction’ to the reader, and rouse them to greater activity, rather than transporting them into ‘the regions of romance’. He knew it was important to gain the reader’s attention because of the great competition from cheap papers, but thought that a good woodcut would do that.¹⁶²

The United Kingdom Alliance, the prohibitionist arm of the temperance movement established in 1853, (see chapter 5), at first bought space in the weekly *Atlas*. However,

when this became insufficient it founded its own paper in 1854, the *Alliance*. Its first edition of 20,000 was exhausted within hours. The name was changed to *Alliance Weekly News* in 1855 and *Alliance News* in 1862. The Alliance claimed its paper was the largest and cheapest penny weekly in the kingdom. It certainly benefited from not having the restrictions suffered by earlier temperance periodicals, especially that of not being able to print 'news' in order to remain exempt from the government stamp. The repeal of the stamp tax in 1855 and of the paper duty in 1861 facilitated improvements in size and quality.¹⁶³

The drink interest had its own newspapers, too. The *Morning Advertiser*, founded in 1794, was an important national paper. It campaigned strongly against the 1830 Beer Bill because of its attack on spirits. It continued the fight even after its passage through parliament: 'the Licensed Victuallers, as a body, consider themselves to have been SOLD', it claimed on July 9 1830. The paper proceeded to back parliamentary reform in the belief that a changed electorate would be more favourable to the brewers' interests. The *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* was also founded in the year of 1794, and the weekly *Era* followed in 1838.

Women and temperance

Women made an increasingly important contribution to the nineteenth-century temperance movement, but their early endeavours were often undervalued, relegated to the traditional female sphere of teas, bazaars, children's work and so on. As the temperance advocate W. E. Moss noted on August 25 1840 on the back of a large scrapbook of 'famous people' — all male: 'As usual women not being considered famous, they are left out in shadow land'.¹⁶⁴ The presence of 'the fair sex' was often noted in the report of the

tea meeting. In the early days, they usually made the domestic arrangements for the (male) speakers and organisers of the movement, and provided encouragement from home 'content to be unknown'.¹⁶⁵ This traditional domestic female role was certainly defended by at least one prominent teetotaler, Thomas Whittaker, who revealed his prejudices in the following comment.

There is a lot of work for women in the Temperance Movement, but if it takes the platform phase rather than the domestic, it will be poor [sic] misapplied.¹⁶⁶

This attitude did not stop women being actively involved in temperance work, however. In 1836 there were 'many men of various classes and women not a few' among the London teetotal workers. From 1837, women increasingly addressed general temperance meetings. Mrs C. L. Balfour, (committee member of the Ladies' National Temperance Association, see page 171, and honorary agent of the N.T.L.), was one among many speakers who created 'a strong impression on the audiences'. Two further examples are Ann Jane Carlile of Dublin, who first suggested the name 'Band of Hope' in 1847 for a junior temperance movement, and who lectured extensively throughout Britain, and Mrs. S. Theobald of Leicester.¹⁶⁷ It is not clear how much opposition the speakers encountered from within the temperance movement, but there must have been a certain amount. Whittaker, again, wrote of his preferential place for women.

Of course, ladies are always present in temperance work and if they are not mentioned, it may be taken that while words are silver silence is gold. The ladies have charmed my life and comforted my heart all the way along, and I would not like to be a wanderer or a sojourner [?] where there were no women.¹⁶⁸

Henry Anderton, (probably 'the poet'), writing on behalf of the secretary of the Fleetwood Temperance Society in 1845, bluntly stated the opposition case. The rejection of the services of the female activists Stamp, Jackson and Martin on gender grounds was unequivocal.

The members of teetotalism here are desirous of preserving their reputation for wisdom and morality ? and if we had any thing [*sic*] to do with the management of Temperance Matters in Preston we should advise Mrs Stamp, Mrs. Jackson or Mrs. Martin to seek a likelier market for her [*sic*] exhibition *viz* ? the “Hall of Science” ? or any other house of ill-fame where a woman can expose herself with impunity.¹⁶⁹

It is evident that there were clear ideas on the part of some as to the female’s useful sphere of influence. The Fleetwood Temperance Society members would no doubt have supported the entreaty made to ladies in 1841 in *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, to discourage the use of intoxicating liquor in the home. Their influence in the domestic circle was said to be sufficient to reclaim or prevent drunkards — husband, children, servants, acquaintances etc.¹⁷⁰

From as early as 1829, women had established their own societies. The first British temperance society organised by women for women was established on October 1 1829 by Misses Allen and Graham at Maryhill, Glasgow. They were inspired by John Dunlop, founder in 1828 of the Greenock anti-spirits society. Many Female Temperance Societies followed, although they were the exception rather than the rule up to the 1870s. For example, on March 15 1836 one such society was established in Birmingham. This had a fourfold pledge:

1. We agree to abstain from all intoxicating liquors except for medicinal purposes and in a religious ordinance.
2. We promise to use affectionate means to influence our husbands, children, and relatives to sign the Total Abstinence Pledge.
3. We promise that those of us who are unmarried will not accept the addresses of any man who is not a member of a Total Abstinence Society.
4. We promise not to take tobacco or snuff.¹⁷¹

The first quarterly meeting of the Chelsea Female Temperance Association was held on May 5 1840. Over 200 were present, and fifteen signed the pledge.¹⁷²

Female Temperance Societies were established for particular types of workers. A temperance society for female servants, for example, was started in 1839 by a lady in

Carlisle. She obtained 1,000 signatures. The effective but short-lived Ladies' Temperance Association (1853-5), connected to the National Temperance Society, opened up communications with temperance women throughout the country. Between three and four hundred ladies were mobilised for 'active service', and twenty-two societies established. Its demise was due to a 'standstill' of the executive committee, which found it increasingly difficult to maintain effective correspondence with long-distance activists whom they did not know personally. Female travelling agents sent out by the Association would have solved the problem, but that was probably not a feasible solution in the 1850s.¹⁷³

By July 1836, the British Temperance Conference, held at Preston, was encouraging the formation of female branch associations to The British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, after 'very flattering statements' had been received about Female Temperance Associations operating in Manchester, (Resolution 12).

The N.T.L. regarded the aid of ladies in the advancement of the temperance movement as 'very important'. It took over the inactive Ladies' Temperance Association in 1860, and the name was changed to the Ladies' National Temperance Association. The new Association was formed at a time when female suffrage was gradually securing a place on the political agenda, and was therefore born under a brighter star than its predecessor.

Mrs Wm. Fison, a committee member of the Ladies' Sanitary Association, proved of special service as an effective honorary secretary/agent for the N.T.L. She initially approached the League for financial assistance after being unable to satisfy the large number of requests from 'ladies of high social position' and clergymen wishing to have drawing room gatherings for their friends and district visitors. The interest was initially kindled through her papers relating to her experimental work on sanitary reform among the working classes in Brighton. Her activity was by no means confined to the metropolis,

however. She believed temperance to be an intrinsic part of sanitary reform, and was anxious to bring the question of temperance before the upper and middle classes of society. To this end, sponsored by the N.T.L., she held drawing-room meetings, spoke at public gatherings throughout the country, and gave papers at national and international conferences. In one series of *conversazioni*, in 1862, she spoke in some of the principal towns of England, including Manchester, Bradford, Derby, Oxford and Portsmouth. However, she did not confine herself to the upper echelons of society and held meetings with the working classes too. For example, she also met district visitors in St. Giles', London, as well as the poor of that area. As representative of the N.T.L. and the Ladies' Sanitary Association she attended the British Science Association in 1861 and read papers at sittings of the Social Science Congress at Dublin in the same year. She formed local Ladies' Associations in Dublin, Bath and other towns. She is warmly praised for her pioneering efforts in the National Temperance League Annual Report for 1862.¹⁷⁴

Despite the efforts of Fison and others, many women found themselves circumscribed to acting on the Ladies Committees of male-dominated town societies until the late 1860s. Important policy-making roles were denied them in the important national temperance organisations. The Independent Order of Good Templars was the first to admit women on an equal basis with men in the late 1860s: women Templars were eligible for election to all offices within the order.¹⁷⁵

Many Ladies' associations were established after the 1870s, of which Dawson Burns gives a comprehensive account.¹⁷⁶ The most important was The British Women's Temperance Association, founded in 1876. The B.W.T.A. was described as 'one of the most indefatigable and vigorous [female associations] in the country. It had 263 branches by 1891 and an income of just over £1,149, as compared with 5 branches and £104 14s 6d in its first year.'¹⁷⁷

Women prodigiously produced petitions and appeals. For example, an Address from wives and daughters of working men against beerhouses and gin shops was presented to the Queen at a *levée* on June 7 1854. Interestingly, the time and labour of obtaining the signatures was given by a man, Rev. H. Montague.

Many women supported temperance through family connections or the church and were not active in other areas. The majority of women worked in small female groups or alone. Some were influenced by Julia Wightman's work (see page 190). Interestingly, the N.T.L. sometimes found it unwise to establish a Ladies' Association in an area where there was already female-led temperance work among the drunkards, for some women preferred 'not being fettered in any way'.¹⁷⁸ The quiet, unobtrusive work done by many women in their own circles must have been influential, but it is difficult now to ascertain just how influential it was.

The medical profession

Medical men of all descriptions had been courted by temperance advocates from the beginning. Thomas Whittaker confirmed that the temperance movement owed much to them, especially the early men like J. Higginbottom of Nottingham and the Wesleyan surgeon Thomas Beaumont of Bradford, who espoused temperance when it was unfashionable or unprofitable to do so.¹⁷⁹ Eminent physicians and surgeons increasingly signed medical declarations in favour of temperance, and then total abstinence. The British and Foreign Temperance Society issued a declaration in support of temperance in 1836, signed by 716 physicians and surgeons. In 1839, 79 eminent physicians and surgeons including Sir James Clark and Dr. W. F. Chambers, Physicians to the Queen, put their names to the following: the idea that 'the habitual use of some form of alcoholic drink is beneficial to health [has been] handed down from rude and ignorant times [and is]

altogether erroneous'. John Dunlop secured two thousand signatures from medical men in Britain and India in 1847 to a second Medical Declaration. It asserted that a large proportion of human misery was induced by alcoholic beverages of all kinds, and that perfect health was compatible with total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. Drinkers were advised that they could immediately discontinue drinking alcoholic liquors entirely 'with perfect safety', or do so gradually. Total and universal abstinence from alcoholic beverages of all sorts would 'greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race'.¹⁸⁰ However, putting one's name to such a declaration did not require personal practice of total abstinence, and many of the two thousand were not practising teetotallers themselves, nor did they refrain from prescribing drink to patients.¹⁸¹

Dr. Trotter's influential essay was mentioned in the last chapter. Many more pamphlets and longer works on alcohol were written by a variety of medical men as the nineteenth century progressed. Dr. Beaumont, for example, published his *Essay on the Nature and Properties of Alcoholic Liquors*, 1838, in pamphlet form, and Dr. R. B. Grindrod's prize essay *Bacchus*, 'furnished much valuable information on the physiological question'.¹⁸² A few medical, temperance periodicals were published in the nineteenth century, for example, the *Temperance Lancet* edited by Dr. Syder (1861-2) and The National Temperance League's quarterly *Medical Temperance Journal*. The latter continued for 23 years. The general medical press also published communications on temperance, and there was discussion at various congresses. Although the British Medical Association did not pronounce in favour of total abstinence, some of its Presidents and leading officers were abstainers and many of its papers bore evidence of the evils arising from alcoholic drink. An article in the *British Medical Journal*, 1860, concluded that 'alcohol is unnecessary and injurious to the *healthy* human body'.¹⁸³

Although Dawson Burns could write that alcohol, both in health and disease, was still ‘an article of faith in many quarters’ in 1865, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century facts and experience increasingly showed the absence of medicinal benefits attributable to alcohol. Medical opinion thus lost some of its overriding importance to temperance advocates, for doctors were ‘obliged’ to admit the temperance claims as to the destructive effects of alcohol on the body.¹⁸⁴

The army

The army, including its regiments stationed abroad, grappled with the problem of insobriety. Dawson Burns wrote: ‘The drink-blot on our British army is old and ugly’.¹⁸⁵ Testimonies to the dire situation were given to the 1834 Committee on Drunkenness, as mentioned previously. The hot climate of foreign shores was one reason that induced men to drink when abroad, leading many to become drunkards. Temptation was near at hand in India especially, for the East India Company encouraged the sale of alcohol in that country as a source of revenue.¹⁸⁶ However, external sources were certainly not entirely to blame, for the army itself gave spirit rations to the men and allowed strong drink to be sold in army canteens until 1848. Wine, subsidised by the taxpayer, was supplied in the mess especially to the young officers, thus fostering ‘more drunkenness and subordination’.¹⁸⁷

The problem was certainly not confined to soldiers stationed abroad. In 1872, the Rev. Samuel Couling, in ‘Intemperance among Soldiers’, was still denouncing the drunken conduct of soldiers. He cited it as the main reason for protests against the erection of barracks in and around the metropolis. ‘Low public-houses, beershops, and skittle-alleys crop up wherever soldiers congregate with mushroom-like rapidity’.¹⁸⁸

It is not surprising that temperance societies were established in many regiments after 1832. *The Temperance Journal* for May 1839 related the formation of one such society by the 82nd Regiment, stationed in Gibraltar at that time. With the approval of the commanding officer, meetings were held twice weekly with the 'distinguished friend and advocate of temperance' Paymaster Holdsworth in the chair. One hundred and twenty had enrolled in the first two months. A temperance coffee and reading room was also established in the barracks, 'where soldiers are not only provided with cheap and suitable refreshment, but have the additional advantage of storing their minds with useful knowledge'.¹⁸⁹ There was even a teetotal battalion of volunteers, 587 strong, named after General Henry Havelock ? the Havelock Rifles (the 24th Surrey).¹⁹⁰

After 1832, societies could be found in most countries where British troops were stationed. India's first Military Temperance Society was established in Calcutta on August 29 1832, for example, and by 1836 it was claimed that 'there was hardly a regiment without a Temperance Society'. A total membership of 3,551 was cited in 1844.¹⁹¹

Temperance work was also going on at home. In 1845, a United Military Temperance Society was formed in London, but temperance work was seriously affected by an Order from the Commander-in-Chief (the Duke of Wellington) forbidding Regimental Temperance Societies. The object was to prevent secret societies, but the outcome was much backsliding on the part of ex-drinkers. By the time of the Crimean War of 1854-6, the army was again riddled with drinking, 'that so increased after Sebastopol that universal demoralization seemed to be impending'. Even though intemperance was 'a scourge more terrible than the Cholera, whose ravages it favoured' the 'Crimean Committee', in appealing for articles required by the troops, gave priority to intoxicating liquor. 'Every other blunder and mischance was aggravated by the intemperance which

prevailed'. Measures were finally taken to improve the situation, which included the forwarding of a great number of temperance tracts to the Crimea.¹⁹²

The N.T.L. was active in the army, particularly through its agent William Spriggs. He was aided by certain officers, for example Lieutenant-Colonel Wakefield. The N.T.L. began its temperance army work at Aldershot Camp in 1857. The camps at Woolwich and Warley also experienced temperance activity in the early years. Men remained for a relatively short time at the training camps, and when they were stationed, at home or abroad, they often took their temperance principles with them, helping spread the temperance message. By 1858, pledge cards and temperance literature were being distributed 'to nearly every station of the army'. By 1872, it was claimed there were fourteen temperance societies with 1,361 members. Out of a force of 4,214 men, 1,100 signed up from January 1 to August 31 of that year. Of these 447 broke and 683 retained the pledge at least until August 31. The overall number of abstainers in the army was higher, however, for many abstainers did not sign the pledge.¹⁹³

In 1868, Sarah Robinson of Guildford began to devote herself to temperance work among soldiers. Working with the N.T.L., she opened the Soldiers' Institute in Portsmouth on Sept. 10 1874. The Army Temperance Association was formed in 1894.¹⁹⁴

The navy

'Drink has always been the seaman's snare'.¹⁹⁵ Problems of insobriety abounded in the Royal Navy and merchant fleet. James Silk Buckingham, the first parliamentary temperance supporter, called attention to this particular problem in parliament. His own harsh, personal experience on board ship had taught him a few lessons. He first went to sea at ten years of age. After being made drunk as a joke on his first sea trip, and noticing the

terrible consequences to English sailors when they laced their wine with brandy, (foreign sailors diluted theirs with water), he became a fervent opponent of having drink on board ship. On later becoming captain of his own ship he forbade spirits on board, blaming them for almost all the misfortunes at sea. Strong drink also fostered a dependency that was hard to shake when the sailor got ashore. One of the immediate remedies recommended by the 1834 Parliamentary Committee on Drunkenness, chaired by Buckingham, was the discontinuance of all issues of ardent spirits (except as medicine, under the direction of medical officers) to the navy and army.¹⁹⁶

Until 1825, all sailors were entitled to half a pint of 50-50 rum-and-water a day in addition to a gallon of beer. The 'grog', (diluted spirits), allowance was reduced by a half in 1850, and monetary compensation offered for all except officers of superior rank. By 1861, sailors could have cocoa, tea ,coffee or lime juice instead of beer. The ration was abolished entirely only in 1970.¹⁹⁷

In 1860, the N.T.L. engaged Francis Mollison as missionary to sailors visiting the port of London. He conversed with individual sailors and visited their families at home, held temperance meetings on board ships and smaller craft, distributed free temperance literature, sold the *Weekly Record*, 'wholesome literature' and Bibles, and helped the seamen find suitable lodgings. He secured many pledges in this way. In 1861, he paid 6,073 visits to vessels in the port. Particularly after 1862, bands of abstainers existed on numerous ships, members coming from all ranks. For example, at Portsmouth, in October 1868, a festival was held on board the 'Minotaur', which had 'a flourishing society'.¹⁹⁸

In early 1871, the Royal Naval Temperance Society was formed at Portsmouth by W. B. Robinson, (Master Shipwright in Plymouth Dockyard), Mr. Doukontt and others. The following year it boasted 35 ships' branches, members in 37 other ships, and a total membership of 1,300. The N.T.L. took over its management in 1873, for it had grown too

big for its founders to handle and Agnes Elizabeth Weston was made Superintendent of the Royal Navy Department.¹⁹⁹

Dame Agnes Weston, 'The Sailor's Friend', was born in London in 1840. The daughter of a barrister and science enthusiast, she became a fervent Christian at sixteen years old. She taught at the Bath Sunday school and prayed with the sick and dying at Bath United Hospital. She took Bible and prayer meetings for older boys and working men, and taught total abstinence to all. Her temperance work began in the 1860s when she established a coffee and reading room for men of the 2nd Somerset Militia who assembled each year in Bath for training. Many signed the pledge at these meetings. Early in 1868, she began writing to a Christian soldier on his way to India on HMS Crocodile. His friend asked her to write to him, and from there her correspondents multiplied until she was forwarding 1,500 copies each month by February 1872. By 1878, the circulation was 4,000 a month. The letters were nicknamed 'Blue Backs' because of their blue jacket covers.

Weston came to the conclusion that strong drink was a great hindrance to the Gospel, and so in 1873 she stepped up her temperance work. As aforementioned, the N.T.L. was already working in the Royal Navy at that time, and she became their Superintendent at their Naval Branch. By 1877, there were 182 branches of the N.T.L. in the navy, (166 of the 230 ships had their own branch). In 1874, she bought a house from donations and set it up as a Sailors' Rest and Institute. It offered accommodation and leisure facilities for sailors on their return to Britain. It opened in 1876 and was extremely popular. Running costs were covered from the proceeds of the coffee bar.²⁰⁰

Industrial action often led to unemployment. In the dire economic circumstances that often followed labour disputes, contributions to temperance, friendly and benefit clubs were easily neglected, seriously threatening their survival. Despair and misery replaced the hope and faith of teetotal times. This can be seen from 1837 to 1845, when most of the Northumberland and Durham collieries, which had been 'alive with active, earnest, temperance workers', suffered a dramatic downswing. With the strikes, the temperance societies broke up, their funds exhausted. The temperance workers disbursed throughout the country or went abroad. It took many years for the movement to recover in the north.²⁰¹

The N.T.L. did not specify the causes of the high unemployment in Limehouse, London and elsewhere during 1866-7. However, the effect of unemployment was a negative one on their special teetotal effort. The 1867 Report of the N.T.L. cited a disappointing turnout for a second series of meetings held at Burdett Hall, Limehouse in 1866. The first series had been much more successful. The greatest reason for the failure was cited as the 'dire distress' caused by high unemployment in the district. Many temperance followers had not attended because they lacked respectable clothing, their raiment and furniture having been pawned/sold 'before they could bring themselves to receive a penny in relief'. The proud, self-respecting nature of the working class temperance adherent was highlighted in the N.T.L. Report. Undeterred, however, the meetings were continued the next year, being well attended and accomplishing 'much good'.²⁰²

The relationship between teetotalism and Chartism is an interesting one, and has been explored in detail by Harrison.²⁰³ 'Respectable' total abstainers often opposed any association with Chartism. The Chartist George Binns was compelled to retire when he

attempted to address a teetotal meeting at Bishop Auckland in 1840. Such an ‘outrage [to] decency and right feeling’ was quickly quashed by the chairman Rev. J. Tyson, the vicar of Merrington.²⁰⁴

If teetotallers often rejected Chartists, then the opposite could also be the case. Drinking places were important, relatively cheap venues for Chartist meetings. Indeed, the London Working Men’s Association (L.W.M.A.) originated in the Crown and Anchor. Also, Radical newspapers found a ready reading public in drinking places. Objections to teetotalism did not rest solely on the utility of the drinking place, however. Many Chartists enjoyed a drink. The Radical Londoner Stratton believed that ‘the pot-house [was] a good place to meet in, and that a glass of beer or brandy produced a fine, genial, generous spirit, from which the best Chartism had always come’. Many rationalist Chartist leaders disliked the temperance movement’s religious connections, whatever the denomination. Others feared that working men might become subordinate to the temperance movement’s middle-class leadership.²⁰⁵

Despite the fears and opposition, there is evidence of close co-operation between Chartists and teetotallers. ‘Drinking radicalism is a contradiction in terms’, said John Fraser.²⁰⁶ From the start of the Chartist movement there had been people committed to both changes in drinking habits and an extension of the franchise. Chartists used the Teetotal Hall in Bradford, for example, for their activities. The Long Pledgers²⁰⁷ also donated money to the Chartists Defence Fund, and in 1851 they hired a leading local Chartist as their temperance agent.²⁰⁸ Leaders of the National Charter Association were asked to abstain from drink and tobacco, and meetings in pubs and beerhouses were discouraged. The working man’s wasteful expenditure on drink was resented by radicals who were in need of funds for their campaigns. In addition, sobriety curried favour with the middle classes and portrayed respectability. Teetotalism offered the prospect of cheaper

bread and produced fitter radicals. In addition, it was argued that government could be weakened by denying it drink revenue.²⁰⁹

William Lovett, secretary of the L.W.M.A, whilst he never joined the official teetotal movement, spent many years decrying drunkenness and was prepared to become a teetotaller if it would promote the Chartist cause. In 1837, he was ready to disfranchise drunkards. Henry Hetherington and John Cleave, key members of the same organisation, were both abstainers. Lovett suggested the establishment of drink-free district-halls in his *Chartism* in 1840. Financed by public subscription, they would foster self-improvement and drink-free recreation. However, he was ‘not notably involved in the organised temperance campaign, which was in the mainstream of the reform movement’.²¹⁰

Henry Vincent declared in 1846;

I rejoice, that no man can charge any part of the nation’s drunkenness on me. From the early days of my dawning boyhood, till now, in public and private, in word and deed, I have protested against this vile system.²¹¹

He decried the disastrous effect of the drinking customs of the day for the ‘demoralization, crime, and misery’ they engendered. He particularly liked the prominent role of the working man in the movement, whilst recognising the importance of a good abstemious example from the upper classes. He advocated the twin objectives of self-improvement and sobriety, especially when he came out of prison in 1841 ‘like a new man’.

[...] when I plead the cause of popular advancement my prime ambition is, to stand connected with this great movement and to rouse the people to be workers in the great field of moral and intellectual improvement.²¹²

For Vincent, the temperance movement was ‘better than a public or political reform’. He believed that ‘a tyrannous aristocracy governed only through the vices of the poor’, and therefore all Chartists must be teetotallers. A common argument against

franchise extension was that drunkenness was rife among the lowest grades of elector. This was a powerful impetus for Teetotal Chartism. Vincent made a bid for radical middle-class support after 1839, and promoting sobriety was helpful for this end. He published his temperance manifesto before the end of 1840.²¹³

Several Teetotal Chartist societies had been formed in England in early 1840. Support was strongest in the North, but London had at least five Teetotal Chartist societies. One of them, the East London Chartist Temperance Association, had a female section that by February 1841 was hearing female testimonies as to the benefits of teetotalism. A second wave of societies was formed in 1841, after publication of Vincent's temperance manifesto. There were societies in Leeds, Bradford, Birmingham, Dewsbury, Hull, Leicester, Loughborough and Bristol, along with many others, and also loose groups of abstaining working men. District associations were formed. Support was engendered through Vincent's teetotal lecture tour of 1840. He advocated class harmony and ended with pledge signing, where the abstainer agreed to 'use all lawful and constitutional means to cause the People's Charter to become the law of the land'. The tour was reminiscent of that of the Preston pioneers in the early 1830s. 'Universal abstinence' was tried in 1839 and 1840, but it received very limited support. This shows just how sceptical the majority of Chartists were about the idea that total abstinence would bring about the swift downfall of the government.²¹⁴

Daniel O'Connell had publicly supported teetotalism from the end of June 1840. However, a check was put on the rapid expansion of Teetotal Chartism in 1841 when he denounced the alliance of church, teetotal, knowledge and household suffrage Chartism as 'trick, farce, cheat, or humbug'. He thought that they were potentially divisive and weapons of the London philosophic radicals, whom he detested. He successfully curtailed the alliance in the North, and support was largely withdrawn from Lovett's scheme. The

scheme had been criticised for being too simplistic, and for ignoring the legal obstacles and administrative expense involved in raising large sums from small subscriptions. Only one drink-free working-men's meeting place was established, the National Hall at Holborn, where meetings were held until 1857. Vincent withdrew his support for the scheme, and although he remained a teetotaller, he stopped his Teetotal Chartist pledge-signing in July 1841.²¹⁵

Although Teetotal Chartist societies were still active in some places in mid-1841, in London, Leeds, Bradford and Hull for example, by 1842 even the moral force Chartists were beginning to wonder 'whether teetotalism could overturn the system'. There were no further efforts to establish Teetotal Chartist societies until a small revival of democratic teetotalism in the 1850s. Vincent became a lecturer for the Complete Suffrage Union and welcomed class co-operation within the radical movement. He was heckled by Chartists but held to his temperance and radical ideals, 'and continued to recommend mutual improvement, temperance, franchise extension, religious liberty and an undying hostility to Toryism'.²¹⁶

There is evidence that Teetotal Chartism provoked disunity in the Chartist movement at local and national levels. There was no consistent relationship between the teetotal and Chartist movements, teetotal attitudes to Chartists varying from support to hostility. Even in the 1840s, in some localities, (Sheffield, for example), teetotalism remained a powerful adjunct to Chartism. According to Harrison, at least twelve prominent temperance reformers sympathised with Chartist objectives, or even the movement itself. The C.S.U. contained many prominent teetotallers. The eighth resolution creating the Union recommended temperance 'in order that our movement may be peaceably and morally conducted'. However, amongst circles in Bradford (Wiltshire), Banbury and Rotherham controversy broke out between middle and working-class members, and the

latter were faced with the choice of expulsion or secession. Chartists were expelled from several teetotal societies, and were often excluded from their premises. Many middle-class Nonconformists regarded abstinence as a religious and moral question, completely divorced from politics, especially radical politics.²¹⁷

There were many similarities in the aims of the Chartist and teetotal movements. Both groups attacked common enemies, the aristocracy and the irresponsible poor. The latter, being susceptible to drink and money bribes from the former at elections, were considered great impediments to electoral reform. By squandering their money on Saturday nights on drink and debauchery they degraded themselves and precluded their political future.²¹⁸ Both movements championed thrift, industry and self-reliance against traditionalist and subservient rural dependence. Both advocated tax reduction, state interference and an extension of the individual will as a means of tackling poverty. 'Their ideal was a locally self-governing society which would need little policing, fighting or governing on its behalf'. Yet, this similarity of interest was sometimes an embarrassment to the teetotallers, partly because up to the late 1830s they were still fighting the moderationists in the temperance movement. Teetotal Chartism was a useful stick with which the latter could beat the former. Moderationists were eager to show teetotallers as infidels and political extremists. *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, organ of the moderationist B.F.T.S., made several insinuations about teetotalism in 1839-40, and emphasised its own strong Christian basis. This was at a time when teetotallers were striving for acceptance, especially from the established church.²¹⁹

In the 1850s, the prohibitionist element dominated the temperance movement. It was supported from its earliest stages by several Chartists, including Lovett. Three teetotal leaders ? F. R. Lees, R. M. Carter and the Rev. Joseph Barker, (a Methodist New Connexion minister at Chester) were Chartist town councillors in Leeds between 1848 and

1853. Harrison points out that many Chartists entered into organised temperance, as they did many other Liberal crusades of the mid-Victorian era.²²⁰ Chartists of the 1850s, however, often advocated teetotalism in order to lend their movement more respectability and to attract more women supporters. Ernest Jones, when he took over the Chartist movement in the 1850s, liked to portray its moral element as evidenced by the abstinence of many members. By this time the formal Teetotal Chartist societies were much reduced in number and the 'grand union' of the temperance and Chartist movements envisaged in the 1830s and 1840s was a mere mirage.²²¹

Teetotalism and religion

The tardiness of official church recognition of temperance principles meant that some temperance speakers had 'rashly railed' against religion and its ministers. This damaged the cause severely and meant that teetotallers were often labelled as infidels. The Secretary to the Penzance Total Abstinence Society, C. T. Harry, wrote to *The Temperance Journal* of the benefits teetotalism had brought to the churches in his area, but warned that teetotalism was a powerful instrument for good or evil. If members of the Christian churches took it up, the results would be 'great and glorious'. If they withheld their influence, it was more than probable that 'in the hands of infidels' it would be 'the savour of death unto death'.²²²

Some teetotal activists were indeed non-religious/atheists, and there were also Chartists, Socialists and activists of various political persuasions among their ranks. These men were not interested in any religious aspect of temperance, for example increasing church attendance. They did not highlight any Christian basis to temperance, but used their societies merely as self help groups. If conflict arose among members there would sometimes be a split and the formation of another society, as happened in 1841 when Rev.

Beardsall resigned from the Manchester Temperance Society to found his own. His aim was to diffuse total abstinence through Christian principles. Other Christian temperance/teetotal societies were founded in the years before the churches set up their own national temperance societies. As will be seen in chapter 4, Joseph Livesey is an interesting example of how teetotalism and Christianity could mix together. Although he severely criticised the official established church, he was a devout Christian and believed he was serving God through his teetotal work. He was not interested in statistics showing increased church attendance among teetotallers, but was proud of the Christian behaviour evident in his converts.

Due to the divisive nature of denominational rivalry, many temperance workers felt that for the sake of the cause, teetotalism and religion should be kept apart. They strove to keep religion firmly out of teetotal meetings, punishing any religious (or party) partisanship. For the sake of unity the tenth resolution passed at the Second Annual Temperance Conference held on September 15 and 16 1835 stated;

[...] that the conference feel it a matter of high gratification, that individuals of all sects and parties can unite in the common cause, and hope that the Societies will steadily keep in view the importance of promoting the cause of temperance divested of any points of conscientious difference in religion or politics.²²³

The official indifference of the churches towards the teetotal movement seemed a difficult obstacle to overcome in the 1830s and 1840s. This led some to try a different approach, concentrating their 'attack' on individual ministers, and a public declaration of individual support was sought. Given that massive public declarations influenced both government and public opinion, one such declaration, aimed at clergymen, was adopted by a ministerial conference meeting at Manchester in April 1848. It was signed by 583 ministers, all pledged abstainers themselves. Of these 140 were Independents or Congregationalists, 111 Primitive Methodists, 87 Baptists, 56 Calvinist Methodists, 47

United Presbyterians, 42 Wesleyan Association, 29 Church of England, 25 Wesleyan Methodists, 14 Unitarians and 32 from other denominations.²²⁴

The churches

It is worth recounting an ironic tale of the Methodist teetotal missionary Thomas Whittaker. According to his journal, on January 12 1839, in Brompton, he encountered a complete lack of co-operation from the 'Christian and enlightened town' when seeking a place to hold his teetotal meeting. The Independents thought the theatre the best place for his 'foolery'. The Wesleyans said he might as well 'ask for the moon'. The Ranters did not want to recant on their prior undertaking not to let their chapel for 'such a purpose'. The established church and town hall were denied because the parson was both brewer and magistrate. A small room in a public house was rented as the only alternative. However, after the meeting, held amidst many drunken men, the landlady and her daughter became converts to the teetotal cause and planned to leave the town the next Whit Monday. '[...] so instead of my mourning because of my not getting the chapels, I am led to rejoice'. Indeed, the missionaries were the most optimistic of men at that time!²²⁵

In chapter 2.3, it was noted that the Church of England and the non-conformist churches generally left the decision of support for the anti-spirits societies up to individual ministers. Only Wesley had categorically banned drinking spirits, followed much later by a ban on all alcohol by the founders of the Primitive Methodists. It will be remembered that many ministers from different denominations became involved with the movement on an individual basis. The Rev. J. Jackson, for example, was appointed as an agent and was responsible for establishing 23 Temperance societies in 1830 alone.

The Church of England

With the preaching of total abstinence, official church opposition generally increased. The concerns were essentially those mentioned in chapter 2.3, and were exacerbated by the radicalisation of the movement.

The swing from mainly middle to working class temperance protagonists disturbed the established church, for the old fear of social/political upheaval came to the fore. It must be remembered that the 1830s and early 1840s was a period of particular social unrest. Collins had addressed all the fears in his speech at the first meeting of the Bradford Temperance Society (see chapter 2.3). The fears, however, did not disappear and were aptly illustrated by the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. Longley, (later Archbishop of Canterbury), on the occasion of the opening of Bradford Temperance Hall, July 2 1838.²²⁶ He said he had considered declining the invitation to attend because it was said that the teetotallers' object 'was to substitute the principles of Total Abstinence in the place of the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ'.²²⁷ He had decided, however, that the fact that he had been invited was an attempt to give religious sanction to the hall, showing that the temperance society was concerned 'not only to promote the welfare of mankind in this world, but to secure their eternal happiness'.²²⁸ When the established church did 'discover' the benefits of temperance in the 1860s, the clergy frequently criticised the early movement for a lack of Christianity, thereby justifying its initial wariness. This criticism was flatly denied.²²⁹

The 1846 World Temperance Convention deplored the opposition to teetotalism from religious ministers, some of whom had denounced it as fostering infidel principles.²³⁰ Platform incidents like the following did nothing to allay such fears, however. When a speaker at the Westminster Broadway Society showed how much the world was indebted to the Bible, a teetotal member of the committee, who held unorthodox religious views,

replied that, 'the man who had invented gas had done more for the world than the man who had circulated the Bible'.²³¹

Given the increased radicalism of teetotalism, but the evident benefits of temperance, the Church of England chose to put its head in the sand and did not officially oppose the new doctrines. The hierarchy of the Church of England took no prominent part in the temperance reformation from 1840 to 1862. The only Bishops who supported the early teetotal movement were the Bishop of London, (Dr. Blomfield), the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. E. Stanley), and the Archdeacon of Bombay, the Venerable H. Jeffreys.²³²

There were some notable successes. Mrs J. B. Wightman, the wife of a clergyman from Shrewsbury, set up a teetotal society in her husband's parish after working with the poor there and coming to the conclusion that teetotalism was the only way of freeing the poor from drink. She encountered opposition, even from her husband's colleagues, who feared the consequences of a mingling of the social classes.

But you will make *Chartists* out of the lower classes! Are you not laying aside distinctions of rank in your intercourse with them?²³³

She swept these fears aside and insisted on the religious nature of the teetotal movement. She is unique for the very popular book she wrote about her experiences, *Haste to the Rescue* (1860). She wrote for the educated classes with the intention of stirring them up to;

[...] more earnest and prayerful effort to rescue those who are placed by God in a less favoured position, from the thralldom of THE ONE besetting temptation, which is to them the fruitful source of *all* other sin and sorrow, and by loving acts of sympathy and kindness to elevate them socially and morally.²³⁴

The book was instrumental in arousing the church to greater involvement in the problem of intemperance and converted around thirty clergymen to teetotalism. On realising the potential of the book, the Committee of the National Temperance League

decided to distribute 10,000 copies among the clergy of the Church of England in 1860, and forward a copy to every theological institution in Britain. They hoped that *Haste to the Rescue* would be the catalyst needed to convert the clergy *en masse* to teetotalism.²³⁵ There is no evidence that it did so.

Although many vicars either withdrew their support for the temperance cause or opposed teetotalism outright, others chose a different solution. The Bradford Temperance Society historian George Field related that around 1840 there was ‘a great falling off [in temperance society membership] of clergymen and ministers, who formed separate societies’, not wishing to be associated with ‘Chartists, Socialists, and Catholics’.²³⁶ The separate church societies were relatively few in number, however, until the church establishment adopted temperance wholeheartedly in the 1860s and 1870s.²³⁷

Shiman states that the pressure of rising public concern for the welfare of the very poor in the 1860s and 1870s pushed the churches into this response.²³⁸ There had been attempts earlier to set up national Church of England Temperance Societies. A case in point was the Church of England Temperance Society set up on total abstinence principles that met at St. Paul’s Schoolroom, Vauxhall, in 1839. One of the clerical secretaries was the Rev. F. J. Witty, who stated the objects of the society to be ‘to reclaim the drunkard and to preserve the sober’. How long it remained in operation is not known.²³⁹

A stronger Church of England Total Abstinence Society was established in 1862. The prime movers in the Society’s establishment were the Dean of Carlisle and the Rev. R. Maguire, who made an appeal for a total abstinence society at the London conference in April 1861. Its establishment was intended ‘to entice reluctant clergy and others to temperance’. By organising parochial associations under the presidency of parish clergymen, through public meetings and the issue of publications aimed at the clergy, the Church of England Total Abstinence Society hoped to achieve what had been so illusive —

the inclusion of the clergy in total abstinence work. Three hundred and sixty abstaining clergymen were listed as members at the end of the inaugural year. The name was changed to The Church of England Temperance Reformation Society in 1864, reflecting an attempt to appeal to a wider audience and establish a broader base. By 1869, it was operating on a dual basis. One section was composed of total abstainers only, another of non-abstainers willing to co-operate with teetotallers in working for a reduction or removal of the causes of the intemperance existing in social customs and legislation. After the change, the number of abstaining clergy greatly increased, as did subscriptions. Lack of funds was always a problem, however.²⁴⁰

In 1892, official sanction was given for the formation of societies on purely total abstinence lines. Earlier, ephemeral Church of England teetotal societies like the one referred to in *The Temperance Journal*, which took part in the grand procession of the Liverpool Anniversary Temperance Festival as early as July 1839, were thereafter much more likely to succeed.²⁴¹

The increased church interest in the temperance question is well illustrated by the proceedings of the Convocation of Canterbury, published in 1869. The special inquiry investigated the extent of intemperance, its results, probable causes and remedies. The committee of 'some of the most influential clergy' took evidence from witnesses nationwide as well as from parochial clergy, medical and other authorities in the thirty-one dioceses of the Province of Canterbury. The dioceses covered thirty-two English counties, and north and south Wales. This embraced a population of over fourteen million people. Among the conclusions of the final report on 'Intemperance and its Remedies' was an appeal for the repeal of the 1830 Beer Act and the total suppression of beerhouses throughout the country, restrictions on public house opening times including Sunday closing except to *bone fide* travellers, increased inspection of public houses, the rigid

enforcement of penalties attached to drunkenness, and control of licence renewals by local inhabitants.²⁴² Little notice was taken of the Report, however, for the committee could only advise.

A similar inquiry was set up in 1871 by the Church of England's Convocation of York. The prevention of benefit society meetings being held in public houses, closure of drink-selling establishments at the time of municipal and general elections, and pro-permissive bill sentiments were expressed, but again with little practical effect.

The Wesleyan Methodists

As previously stated, dissenting ministers were generally supportive of an anti-spirits policy, although only the Methodist Church expressly forbade its members to drink distilled spirits. The Wesleyan Methodist position towards total abstinence was a thornier issue, being *officially* much less supportive than the other dissenting churches. Methodists had suffered from division since the death of their leader John Wesley, and were naturally wary of a temperance movement that showed itself in the 1830s and 1840s to be less than unified itself, and well capable of causing schisms. Teetotalism was officially seen as a potentially divisive measure and for this reason alone a dangerous one for the church to adopt.

Somewhat problematic for the teetotal Wesleyans was the fact that Wesley had only spoken against distilled spirits, not fermented liquors. He even recommended 'mild ale' as one of the best things to take after preaching, (the others were lemonade or candied orange peel). In 'A Word to the Wesleyan Methodists' a Wesleyan and member of the British and Foreign Temperance Society wrote in defence of the society's anti-spirits policy, countering the arguments of teetotalers who were trying to make Wesley 'one of their

own'.²⁴³ Total abstainers argued that Wesley would have supported teetotalism if the problem of drunkenness had been perceived in his time as one involving all intoxicating liquors. It must be remembered that in the eighteenth century, drinking beer was regarded in the same light as drinking tea or coffee is today i.e. harmless if not practised in excess.

Many of the rank and file Wesleyans supported teetotalism.²⁴⁴ References to Wesleyan support, whether through the loan of premises or active canvassing, have been mentioned throughout this chapter. Wesleyan Teetotal Societies were formed, for example in Preston on January 27 1838. This society, although it encountered problems with the superintendent of the circuit in 1839, had 836 names in the pledge book at the end of its first year.²⁴⁵

Pilkington wrote that although Methodism had been 'thoroughly on the side of temperance' from the outset;

When teetotalism sprang into existence, many of our leading men through misapprehension looked coldly upon it, and some opposed it.²⁴⁶

Pilkington's reference to 'leading men' is important, for, as already noted, there was a division between the upper and lower ranks. Dissension over teetotal doctrine caused conflict in many a Wesleyan chapel. This was especially common in Cornwall, where many Cornish Wesleyans believed teetotal doctrine to be part of their religion.²⁴⁷ As already noted, James Teare, a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher, had implanted teetotalism in Devon and Cornwall almost single-handed. The secretary of the Penzance Total Abstinence Society stated that in March 1839 the number of teetotallers in the Penzance Wesleyan circuit alone was nearly ten thousand. Forty-eight of the sixty-seven speakers were members of the Wesleyan Temperance Society, and through their teetotal lectures, they 'pointed sinners to Christ'.²⁴⁸ At the annual festival of the Redruth Tee-total Society on June 24 1839, it was claimed that;

At the outset of Tee-totalism in this county, it was the fashion with some peculiar people to cry down the Wesleyan Methodists, as indifferent to the cause of Temperance; whatever may have been their former conduct, they displayed on this day as much zeal and warmheartedness on the subject, as the most sanguine could desire, and worthy, at the same time, of the imitation of their enemies.²⁴⁹

A memorial from the Bodmin Circuit to Conference in 1836 had lamented that the Rules and Minutes of Conference relating to spirituous liquors were often publicly ignored by both preachers and people. The necessity for preachers to use scriptural doctrines and to comply with the strict Methodistic Rules and Minutes of Conference in their efforts to combat intemperance was underlined. The Conference Committee received the memorial 'with much satisfaction' and hoped preachers would comply more faithfully in the future.²⁵⁰

A memorial was signed by thirty-seven ministerial members of the Wesleyan Society of Stratford, and presented to the conference of the Wesleyan Methodists at Liverpool in August 1839. Although the ministers would have liked their brethren to adopt teetotalism, they limited themselves to pointing out its benefits and requesting that Conference recommend to the preachers of their connexion that they 'take care not needlessly to throw any obstacle in the way of its progress, far less by any deliberate effort seek to oppose it'.²⁵¹ This clearly shows the divisions that teetotalism could cause in a connexion.

By 1841, the church hierarchy had to take a stand. By that time, drinking had become part of the work and fellowship of the church. Alcoholic stimulants were often provided to the minister before and after preaching, home-brewed ale was supplied at Quarterly Meeting dinners and for singers at the Sunday school Anniversaries. Most importantly perhaps, many brewers and distillers were influential members of Methodist churches. After public discussions and the distribution of letters and pamphlets, 'the Methodistic crusade against teetotalism' intensified.²⁵² The 1841 annual Wesleyan

Conference culminated in three anti-teetotal resolutions being adopted. These were that no unfermented wines be used in the administration of the Sacrament throughout the Connexion; no Wesleyan Chapel be lent for temperance society meetings; and that no preacher should go into another circuit to advocate teetotalism without the consent of its superintendent.

The repercussions of the resolutions were great. Where the conference decree was enforced, the effects on the teetotallers were sometimes unexpected. In Withern, Lincolnshire, for example, they were jolted into action and constructed a 'commodious building' for their own use when Wesleyan chapels were denied them.²⁵³ In 1842, 600 Cornish Wesleyan Methodists broke away and formed their own Methodist movement. They were both staunch Methodists and staunch teetotallers. Only by largely ignoring the resolutions were more defections avoided. They were all reconciled by 1860, largely due to the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Beaumont, Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, Rev. Charles Garrett and others.²⁵⁴

The official Wesleyan attitude had relaxed so much by 1871 that it was decided at the annual conference in Manchester to send a memorial to the government supporting the adoption of the Permissive Bill. During the sittings of the conference, a large temperance demonstration was held at the Free Trade Hall, presided over by influential ministers and laymen of the denomination.²⁵⁵ In 1877, Conference sanctioned the formation of Bands of Hope as adjuncts to church and school organisations, and approved a broad basis for the establishment of local temperance societies under the direction of the superintendent minister. These were united by Conference and guided by the Connexional Temperance Committee. Temperance affairs became a recognised branch of the Conference agenda. In 1882, the Rev. Charles Garrett was elected to the highest possible position in the Connexion, the Presidency of the Conference. Long gone were the struggles of 1841 and

the anti-teetotal propaganda. In 1897, Dawson Burns could write; 'these [anti-teetotal] resolutions had fallen into such oblivion that their former existence is probably unknown to a majority of the ministers and nearly the whole of the members'.²⁵⁶ When the Wesleyans merged into the United Methodist Free Church, (1907), the reformers 'contributed powerfully' to the Total Abstinence Movement.²⁵⁷

Primitive Methodists/Ranters

Primitive Methodism originated among a number of revivalist groups on the fringes of mainstream Wesleyan Methodism in 1815. However, in contrast to the Wesleyans, the Primitive Methodists supported teetotalism from the top down. Their co-founder Hugh Bourne was a staunch abstainer, as were many other leaders of the denomination.²⁵⁸

The Primitives officially supported the temperance movement from an early date. Their 1832 conference passed a motion approving of temperance societies and recommended them to their followers. In 1841, the General Committee issued a statement approving of teetotalism and recommended its advocacy.²⁵⁹ A Conference of Primitive Methodist Ministers adopted a resolution of complete sympathy with the United Kingdom Alliance objective of legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic, (see chapter 5), in 1857. However, a Primitive Methodist Temperance League was only founded in 1883.

Primitive Methodists had 'an army' of active teetotal supporters in the early days, although enthusiasm may have waned from around the 1860s. From this time, as the Primitives were well-established in the local communities, chapel events lost some of their distinctive qualities and even incorporated some 'undesirable' ones. Boston circuit quarterly meeting passed a resolution in 1865 disapproving of 'the system of drinking ale

and certain games practised' during the Sunday school anniversary services. Expulsion was used against members found guilty of drunkenness.²⁶⁰

The Primitive Methodist Rev. Samuel Smith, based in Preston in 1832, 'earnestly assisted in establishing the new [teetotal] movement'.²⁶¹ He was said to be the first minister of religion to identify himself with teetotalism. Use of the Primitive Methodist chapel in Stockport saved the day for Livesey and his followers on their famous first missionary tour in 1833, when they found themselves with no place to speak (see chapter 4). This support is not surprising, for the message preached by the Primitives was that through fear of the Lord and a life centred on the home and the chapel, heaven could be attained after death. Drinking, wrestling, cock fighting and 'many similar evils' were shunned.²⁶² The advocacy of total abstinence was closely associated with the proclamation of the Evangel. New converts were often unable to resist the temptation to return to former drinking habits, and moderation was found to be ineffective 'since it kept the door to shame ajar'.²⁶³ Ambler suggests that the Primitives also benefited from associating with the temperance movement and other reforming organisations, for they developed wider contacts with other dissenting bodies. At the Grantham Temperance Society annual festival in 1857, there were services in the Wesleyan chapel, a public meeting in the Exchange Hall, sermons given by Baptists and four week-night lectures in the town's Primitive Methodist chapel.²⁶⁴

The initial plain-speaking, enthusiastic, travelling Primitive Methodist preachers, and the open-air meetings, served the teetotal movement well. The similarity of teetotal/Methodist methodology has already been broached with reference to the mainstream Methodists, but is perhaps more relevant to the Primitives. Their greater evangelical fervour is reminiscent of the early teetotal pioneers, who merely substituted the 'demon' drink for the Primitive's devil.

Teetotalism among Primitive Methodists was particularly strong in the mining villages of Northumberland and Durham,²⁶⁵ and amongst the agricultural labourers of East Anglia. However, temperance meetings were frequently held in Primitive Methodist chapels nationwide. Teetotal doctrines were often preached concomitantly with the Sunday sermon. *The Temperance Journal* recounts the activities of a Mr. Stamp, a young preacher in the Primitive Methodist Society who spoke at the anniversary of the Hull Society in March 1839. He had been a teetotaler for three years and during that time had ‘walked ten thousand miles, preached fifteen hundred sermons, and visited five thousand six hundred families’.²⁶⁶

It is difficult to ascertain how representative of the country Mr. Stamp was. Shiman claims that any friction between Primitive Methodists and teetotalism was the exception, not the rule.²⁶⁷ However, three years after the encouraging news reported in *The Temperance Journal*, the Rev. John Stamp, presumably the same person referred to above, suffered a reversal of fortune. According to Dawson Burns, he suffered fierce opposition from Hull Primitive Methodist officials because of his resolve to make temperance part of his ministerial work. He was expelled from the Connexion in 1841, allegedly on other than temperance grounds.²⁶⁸

The experience of the Primitive Methodist Joseph Wilson, a successful, benevolent, forward-looking Bradford industrialist and early teetotal advocate, was certainly more than Shiman’s ‘friction’. He was denounced at the Primitive Methodists’ Quarterly Meeting as an infidel because of his teetotal work. The church officials were ‘bitterly disposed’ to him, and even brought in an official deputation from the Bradford District to denounce the Sunday school teaching he undertook in the Chapel building. ‘No fault’ was found. It was said that for years there was a whip hung up in Great Horton School to whip him out. He confessed that only his great grit and determination and the fact that the school prospered

kept him from succumbing to the ‘persecution’ and resigning. He did have the last laugh, for his chief persecutor ‘ultimately died in the workhouse through drink’.²⁶⁹ This was between 1850 and 1870. There was still less than whole-hearted support for temperance in 1894. Although he could say that his was ‘largely a Temperance School and Church’, some of the officials objected to his plan for special Temperance Sermons preached by prominent temperance advocates to bring in those who attended no place of worship. However, the officials ‘were all teetotallers’.²⁷⁰

A final reference to discord caused by teetotalism can be seen in a report in the *Stamford Mercury* of June 18 1841.²⁷¹ After a split in the Primitive Methodists of North Somercotes occasioned by the congregation’s differing opinion of the teetotal question, the ‘disciples of the pump’ gained the upper hand and closed the doors on a non-abstaining local preacher who had walked a considerable distance to partake in their service: ‘no alcoholite shall taint the purity of [our] pulpit’. The ‘disappointed preacher’ got a lift home in the cart of a sympathetic Louth publican.

The Bible Christians

The Bible Christians were Methodists in their discipline and doctrine, but they originated independently in south-west England in 1815 (contemporaneously with the Primitive Methodists in Staffordshire). They were also identified with teetotalism, through the influence of their first leader, James Thorn, but did not insist on personal abstinence as a condition of membership. However, Burns recalled that nearly all the ministers were total abstainers in 1839, together with the majority of members.²⁷² Although Shiman claims that they did not set up their own total abstinence societies until 1882, long after other churches had done so, Urwin recounts that Thorn set up the first Bible Christian Temperance Society (teetotal) in Langtree, Devonshire, in 1837. This was followed in the same year by

one in Bodmin, ‘whose members became active pioneers for the cause’. Dawson Burns also mentions Thorn’s 1837 society.²⁷³

The Methodist New Connexion

The Methodist New Connexion was the fruit of the earliest Methodist division, immediately after Wesley’s death in 1791. There was strong opposition to teetotalism initially, despite the efforts of one of the church’s foremost ministers, Dr. William Cooke.²⁷⁴

Baptists and Congregationalists

Baptists and Congregationalists were also identified with teetotalism, although the official position of their church hierarchies was similar to that of the Wesleyans. As previously mentioned in chapter 2.3, the British and Foreign Temperance Society was supported in 1834 by the Board of Congregational Ministers in London and its vicinity. Neutrality was the official norm concerning total abstinence, however, up to the 1870s, leaving the decision of support up to individual chapels. Many Baptist and Congregational chapels were venues for teetotal meetings throughout the country, for there were some ardent early supporters of teetotalism in the lay and ministerial ranks of both denominations. The Baptist minister Jabez Tunicliffe was the founder of the first Band of Hope in England (in Leeds, 1847). The Revs. Jabez Burns and his son the temperance historian Dawson Burns, Baptists, were also ardent teetotallers.

The Baptist Total Abstinence Society at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, established in 1838, was one of the relatively few local associations.²⁷⁵ One of the reasons may have been the

‘violent, harsh language’ used by some teetotallers that did ‘immense injury everywhere, particularly to the minds of religious people’. This was given as the reason for the formation of a Baptist Teetotal Society in Durham around 1838. Livesey railed against the ‘personal charges and violent censures dealt out by injudicious speakers at temperance meetings’, especially against ministers. Not only was it bad policy, but also often inconsiderate and sinful, resulting in alienation and opposition.²⁷⁶

Not all Baptists were as supportive as these men, however, as the following extract from the *Leeds Temperance Herald* of January 1837 illustrates. Despite ‘the hostility of many of the [Baptist] ministers’ the president of the Horton Baptist College, Rev. F. Clewes, was congratulated on the formation of a branch of the Bradford temperance society at the college, where ‘nearly all the students had joined’. Thus, the article went on, although the hostility of the present Baptist ministers was to be lamented, there was hope that the following generation ‘would be advocates of the cause’.²⁷⁷ The hope was well founded for The Baptist Total Abstinence Society was formed in April 1874, with an initial membership of about 200 deacons and ministers. This rose to 1,490 abstaining ministers in 1897, four-fifths of the whole. In 1874, the Congregationalists set up their total abstinence society.

The Society of Friends/Quakers

Difficulties arose within the Society of Friends when the temperance movement became more radical. Attempts to impose teetotalism on members were met with opposition, in spite of the justification that it was ‘for the sake of others’, and not for the inherent evil of alcohol, as many teetotallers claimed. Many feared the adoption of teetotalism could provoke a schism in the Society, especially as many Quakers were

involved in the brewing industry. Teetotalism was strongest among the Quakers of the north and west of England, while in London it did not flourish. It therefore followed national tendencies in this respect.²⁷⁸

Appeals and addresses were made to the Society of Friends by members supportive of the teetotallers. All requested official sanction of teetotal principles. For example, in 1837 an address was presented, signed by fifty prominent members of the Society, and in 1840 another address was published signed by 110 Quakers, including prominent members of the Society. The response was disappointing and they accomplished little in terms of changing official policy. The Friends' Temperance Union was formed in 1852, but its action was largely through the Committee and Correspondents, with an annual meeting in London.²⁷⁹ Their 1867 annual dinner, with over 300 present, was held in a London tavern!²⁸⁰ In 1874, temperance Friends did manage to persuade the Yearly Meeting to ask those who manufactured intoxicating beverages to change their business if at all possible.

The Friends' ambiguous position is ably demonstrated by Joseph Eaton. A well-known temperance supporter and benefactor, in 1838 he published an address asking the Friends to consider adopting total abstinence. He was secretary of the Bristol Total Abstinence Society, yet he had a 'good cellar' that he left in testament to the safekeeping of the Treasurer of the New Bristol General Hospital. He left £50 to James Teare and £15,000 each to the two national teetotal associations, the N.T.L. and the B.T.L. Eaton's position was not uncommon among the Quakers. Although he himself was a total abstainer, he had a stock of good wines 'and other descriptions of intoxicating drinks' of which he was proud.

In the 1860s, Joseph Livesey lamented the decline in the quality and quantity of support on the part of 'second generation' Quakers.²⁸¹ Despite a diminution in enthusiasm, however, the support of dedicated individual Friends was decisive to the temperance cause

throughout the nineteenth century. As with the Church of England and the Methodists, institutional disinterest must not be confused with individual aid. Many non-Quaker temperance agents and advocates were supported wholly or in part by individual Friends, and they often played a prominent role in local and national temperance organisations. Nathaniel Card, founder of the United Kingdom Alliance (see chapter 5) was a member of the Society of Friends.²⁸²

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church designated drunkenness as one of the seven deadly sins, but the use of alcohol in itself was not condemned. Coercion to adopt teetotalism was not acceptable. The abuse rather than the use of alcoholic drink was condemned. Temperance was considered as only one of the virtues, not a special one, and so the church was reluctant to give its approval to temperance societies that, by nature, largely excluded the other virtues.

The Roman Catholic Church was wary of the transformation of temperance into ‘a form of Deism’, and therefore directed those who wanted to support it towards Catholic temperance societies. Some parishes had their own societies, temperance or teetotal. In 1838, the Catholics of Chelsea held a public meeting in a ‘commodious new hall’ in Sloane Street to revive the Chelsea Catholic Total Abstinence Association, instituted on November 2 1838. Twenty-two signed the pledge. The Virginia Street Catholic Total Abstinence Society (London) even opened an East London Temperance Hall at London docks in 1840. Over 1,000 were present at a meeting there on November 1 1840. The Metropolitan Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Association, established at the beginning of the same year, was composed of numerous branches, each holding weekly meetings. In

Manchester, the Catholic Teetotal Society of the city headed by a Mr. Hearne and two priests closed the temperance procession of the Fifth Anniversary of the Independent Order of Rechabites.²⁸³ A final example of Catholic temperance societies is the South London Catholic Temperance Society, established in March 1840 with 214 pledged members. Their report declared;

We intend, by the blessing of God, not to slacken our exertions until every Catholic, nay, all the world, be free from the contaminating influence of intoxicating drink.²⁸⁴

Some Roman Catholics belonged to sectarian temperance societies. As these were often linked closely with Protestantism, the Catholics sometimes felt uncomfortable. In Leeds, several Roman Catholic members of the Leeds Temperance Society left to form their own Leeds Catholic Total Abstinence Association in June 1840. This was reported to be 'countenanced and encouraged by the Catholic priests in the town'. It worked mainly among the Irish of the district and quickly gained 250 members. Three months previously, in March 1840, the Catholics were strong enough to hold their own Catholic Temperance Festival in Leeds, complete with the usual procession, tea, and church service. However, until 1872, and the formation of the national Catholic teetotal society, the Catholic Total Abstinence League of the Cross, Catholic temperance efforts were scattered and local in nature.²⁸⁵

Father Nugent's work is an example of a successful local initiative. He worked in Liverpool from the 1840s, among the immigrant Irish, and established a total abstinence society there. Along with Cardinal Manning, he set up the aforementioned Catholic Total Abstinence League of the Cross, in 1872. The League operated chiefly among the working classes. It appears that few Roman Catholic laymen of rank and influence took any part in the promotion of temperance in England.²⁸⁶

Father Theobald Matthew, 'The Apostle of Temperance' (1790-1856)



Campbell, R., *Rechabite History*, p. 133.

The teetotal cause boasted a celebrity figure throughout the 1840s in the person of the Irish priest Father Theobald Matthew. The 'Father Matthew phenomenon' galvanised the British temperance movement in the late 1830s and 1840s. Daniel O'Connell described him as 'The really greatest man that Ireland ever produced'.²⁸⁷ Born at Thomastown stately home, near Cashel in Galway, on October 10 1790, Father Matthew was cousin to Lord Llandaff. Ordained in 1814, he immediately joined the Capuchin Order. After a brief ministry in Kilkenny he moved to Cork, a city of 80,000 people, over half of them illiterate. He worked among the poor, and soon established a reputation as a true 'man of God'. People flocked to hear his sermons and to take confession from him. He joined the Cork Temperance Society by signing the teetotal pledge on April 10 1838, on the insistence of a Quaker friend, William Martin. After a slow but steady start, teetotalism in Cork was transformed from an obscure doctrine with few followers to a public 'mania' by December 1839. Despite his poor public-speaking gifts, thousands thronged to take the pledge and receive the teetotal medal from Father Matthew's hands. It was claimed by Maguire in *Life of Father Mathew* that in three months 25,000 signed the pledge. Father Matthew became a cult figure, a popular hero, and travelled all over Ireland, then England and even America, administering the pledge to thousands. By June 1840 he was said to have had two million followers, a quarter of the Irish population. He was credited with 'the transformation of Ireland'. Indeed, the consumption of spirits, 12,300,000 gallons in 1838,

dropped to 7,400,000 gallons in 1840 and to 5,300,000 in 1842.²⁸⁸ Five million of Ireland's eight million population were said to be teetotallers by the end of 1841. Breweries and distilleries went out of business and in many areas drunkenness disappeared. Everywhere serious crime dropped sharply. His first public visit to Scotland yielded 10,000 pledges in Glasgow in one day.

On July 1 1843 he landed at Liverpool for a ten-week visit to England. More than 40,000 signed the pledge on his first day. Thomas Carlyle 'almost cried to listen to him'. He visited Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax and York, encountering the same clamorous reception as a modern-day film celebrity. People put aside their anti-Catholic and anti-teetotal views as they surrendered to Father Matthew's magnetism. Some opposition was mounted in London, with publican-backed hecklers successfully disturbing a meeting of 3,000 at Parsons-Green in mid-August 1843. The Irish thereafter provided him with a bodyguard that included women 'with shillelaghs inside their umbrellas'. He met and won over people from London society; Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington and many other noblemen. He gave the temperance advocate Lord Brougham MP a medal to pass on to a notoriously drunken peer, who replied on receiving the gift, "I tell you what [...] I will keep sober for this night". His ten-week visit to England resulted in 200,000 new teetotallers, (although the number was nearer 600,000 according to his followers).

His generosity led him to bankruptcy, however, which was only partially alleviated by a £300 award from the Civil List in 1847 that was used to buy life insurance to cover his debts. He was later awarded a pension for life. (Lord John Russell was accused of having ulterior motives in helping Father Matthew whilst ignoring other needy temperance labourers who had contributed much more to the cause. 'Had they been connected with parties who would have been likely for adding to his Lordship's fame, perhaps, they would not have been slighted in the manner that they were').²⁸⁹ Many demands were made upon

Father Matthew's financial resources, and he made many donations to temperance reading-rooms and libraries. He under-charged for the copper and silver medals received by the pledge-takers, or gave them away free of charge. £1,500 worth of medals were distributed free in England alone, many to rich noblemen.

The famine in Ireland, especially after the failure of the potato crop in 1846, led over 1,600,000 people to emigrate. The drop in population and the inability of many to resist temptation while in a weakened state dealt a severe blow to the temperance movement, from which it never recovered: spirit-drinking rose, reading-rooms closed down, societies ceased to exist. In 1848, Father Matthew had a serious stroke but still accepted an invitation to visit America the following year where he travelled 37,000 miles, visited twenty-four states and administered half-a-million pledges.²⁹⁰

By 1853, his movement had collapsed. Stricken by paralysis and plagued by debt, he followed medical advice and moved to Madeira, where there was a warmer climate. He died in Cork on December 8 1856, never having set up an institution to supervise the pledge-takers. His work is often cited as an example of what happens under these circumstances, for most people recanted on their pledge soon after taking it, leaving no long-lasting benefit. Temperance campaigners did not conclude from his failure that universal total abstinence was impossible to achieve, but simply that the moral suasionist campaign had been too loosely organised and the state had allowed hindrances to be put in its path. The drink traffic continued in the midst of the 'converted millions', sufficient liquor shops persisting to act as snares to the unwary. In addition, the upper and middle classes, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, had not adhered to the movement in large numbers, thus enfeebling the reform. Many Roman Catholic clergy were not abstainers themselves, and so the necessary support from the pulpit was not forthcoming.²⁹¹

The Bible controversy

One of the justifications for not being a total abstainer was an absence of divine condemnation of the moderate use of intoxicating drink. Non-teetotallers argued that this sanctioned the use of strong drink. To counter this, the teetotallers attempted to prove that not every biblical reference to wine referred to the same kind of drink, thereby making a case for difficult passages like the miracle at Canaan. A huge controversy ensued. The following extract is illustrative of the extent to which the subject was debated from the 1850s.

Many of our readers may be surprised to learn, that for ten years past, this and kindred topics have had a literature of their own, industriously devoted to their discussion, and which, in England and America, has secured a circulation of many thousand volumes, and probably some millions of tracts.²⁹²

The most important issue was the ‘two-wine’ theory.²⁹³ Many wrote about this, but Dr M. Stuart researched the question intensively, as did F. R. Lees in his Prize Essay of 1844 and elsewhere.²⁹⁴ It was alleged that in the Bible, various words were used for wine, but two, *Ayin* or *Yayin* and *Tirosh*, were the most important. The first was said to be the generic name for wine, and referred to the fermented juice of the grape and the ‘blood of the grape’ or preserved juice. Lees asserted that Divine sanction was never associated with *Yayin* where the context showed it to be intoxicating. The second meant non-intoxicating wine/grape juice, the fruit of the vine in its natural state. All references to wine of any description, fermented or unfermented, had allegedly been mistakenly translated into English by the same word ‘wine’. Travellers testified that unfermented wine was extensively used in the Far East and even Africa in the nineteenth century. A minute examination of the Bible ‘proved’ that the Jews chiefly used non-intoxicating wines. Three references to *tirosh* (*terosh* or *tedrosh*), i.e. grape juice, are made in Joel 1:10, Joel 2:24

and Proverbs 3:10. These references were said to prove that ancient wines were either unfermented or intoxicating. Jesus used the former kind, for example, at Canaan. That miracle was also explained by logical deduction. As Christ was incapable of doing anything sinful, or anything leading to sin, the wine made by Jesus Christ at Canaan must have been the 'good', unfermented wine.²⁹⁵

It was argued that whenever the generic term for wine was applied to intoxicating drink, there was an entire absence of Divine praise or sanction. In a few cases, silence or permission could be discerned, but never sanction. This was particularly stressed by the teetotallers. The cases of Noah and Lot were considered exceptions that confirmed the rule. The *yayin* in these cases 'was most probably drugged' as the wines of the ancients, 'history clearly shows, were drugged for sensual or wicked purposes'.²⁹⁶ Like their opponents, the teetotallers were not averse to using logical deduction to back up their case.

Some teetotallers cautioned against the propagation of 'baseless' theories like this, however. The President of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, Earl Stanhope, told the 1839 annual temperance conference that he had searched the Scriptures in vain for evidence of the 'good wine' theory 'and found no prohibition against the drinking of wine'. He had found prohibition against the misuse of gifts bestowed by God, however, and he thought it was upon this solid foundation that drink should be shunned.²⁹⁷

The two-wine theory was not sufficiently strong to convince sceptics. Therefore, some teetotallers used other biblical arguments to support their position. As the Last Supper was a Passover meal, that religious festival was the main focus of the approach. 'Herschel, a converted Jew', claimed *The Preston Temperance Advocate* in May 1837, 'said the Hebrew word *Hometz* translated usually as leaven, meant literally fermentation and during the Passover time the Jews were forbidden to keep anything fermented in their house'. The wine at the Last Supper, therefore, could not have been intoxicating. In July

1836, in the same journal, a Jew called Mr. Noah explained how to make unfermented wine without alcohol, such as was used by the Jews during the celebration of Passover, and such 'he supposes was used at the Last Supper and should now be used at the communion table'.

In March 1852, a correspondent wrote in the *British Temperance Advocate* that poor Jews made their own wine, while others bought theirs from the high priest. The writer claimed to have bought some wine from the priest and to have had it analysed. He asked the journal to comment on the fact that it contained spirit. The reply was that it was for the opponents to show that Christ used fermented, intoxicating wine and not the contrary, for the law 'prohibits ferment and fermented things generally'.

Joseph Eaton argued cleverly. While he did not deny the possible validity of the Christian argument for (intoxicating) communion wine, 'if its use was subversive of the end designed by Christianity ? the eternal happiness of mankind, it was the duty of Christians to abandon it for the sake of their fellow men'. This was the old temperance argument of 'do nothing that by example will harm your brother' (Romans 14: 13, 21).²⁹⁸

Paul's advice to Timothy to 'Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities' was a mainstay of those who avowed Biblical sanction for drinking wine. Joseph Livesey argued that the advice proved two things. Firstly, that Timothy was a water-drinker. Secondly, that he was advised to take wine medicinally, and then only in small quantities. As the question of whether it was fermented or unfermented juice of the grape was not addressed, it was impossible to claim sanction for brandied (fortified) wine, even for medicinal purposes.²⁹⁹

The 'sacramental wine' problem

The 'sacramental wine' issue caused a good deal of agitation in temperance circles during the nineteenth century. The difficult question to be addressed by a stringent Christian teetotaller, or 'ultra' as they were sometimes called, was whether it was admissible to drink consecrated wine during religious services. The strictest teetotallers believed all alcoholic drinks were poisonous and therefore should never be taken, which left the Christian total abstainer in a dilemma. The earlier moderationists had no problem because they did not regard wine as 'out of bounds', but this was not the case of the teetotallers. In 1837, Rev. Beardsall of Manchester started the agitation to replace alcoholic wine with non-alcoholic grape juice. He even produced and sold his own non-fermented wines to churches and chapels, (5,000 bottles sold between 1837 and 1841). Joseph Livesey was another advocate of non-intoxicating wines at communion.³⁰⁰

The early teetotallers often circumscribed the problem by taking a pledge that allowed them to take communion wine. However, when attitudes towards wine hardened and it was believed that wine was a poison, the inconsistency of taking it in representation of the blood of Christ could not be ignored. This led many teetotallers to reconcile total abstinence principles with biblical doctrine by showing that Christ had used a benevolent type of wine.

Certain churches used unfermented wine at communion, but others were very opposed to such an act. The action taken depended on the convictions of the individual clergyman and the teetotal pressure brought to bear on him. If a bishop forbade the use of unfermented wine in his diocese, however, then officially the whole diocese had to obey. The Bishop of Lincoln did so in 1877, as did the Bishop of Manchester in 1885. No official stance was taken on the issue by the Church of England until 1888 when, after strong pressure during the 1880s, the Lambeth Conference insisted that the clergy 'should conform to ancient and unbroken usage, and should discountenance all attempts to deviate

from it'. The English Wesleyans voted against unfermented wines at their 1841 conference in Manchester.

For most teetotallers the problem of drinking intoxicating wine at Communion was not a major one. The amount drunk was negligible and they were confident that the power of the gospel would protect them from any evil consequences.³⁰¹

Conclusion

Teetotalism and moderation could never co-exist permanently without seriously weakening the temperance movement. As the moderationists failed to make an impression on drinkers in their first few years of activity, their demise was probably in the movement's long-term interests. 'The doctrine of the Lancashire fanatics' won the day by offering a radical solution to a seemingly insoluble long-term problem. The force of logical argument stifled opposition largely by exposing untenable dual standards of behaviour based on an increasingly shaky scientific basis.

The working-class total abstinence advocates largely supplanted upper-class paternalists with a much more 'hands on' approach to intemperance that did not shy away from direct contact with the victims of drink. Their style, blunt and often aggressive, was generally unacceptable to middle and upper class members, who were thus often unnecessarily alienated.

A number of internal squabbles tarnished the movement's public image. There were disputes over 'the founding father of teetotalism', personal antagonisms between famous proponents, pledge controversies, protests concerning the aggressive/unchristian tactics adopted by some advocates, the use of intoxicating communion wine and divine sanction for wine. Sub-standard temperance hotels and bogus teetotal advocates also harmed the movement and showed that many unscrupulous characters were willing to 'jump on the

bandwagon'. External evidence of support for temperance in the way of temperance processions and large public gatherings (fêtes, tea parties etc.) boosted morale and projected a positive picture to the public. The building of temperance halls sent a message that the movement was progressing and consolidating its gains.

Opposition was often felt, however. Professionally, people suffered discrimination for their teetotalism although in a few cases employers were actively supportive of this practice. Medical practitioners suffered in particular, despite their important role in revealing the harmful effects of alcoholic stimulants. Brewers, cereal farmers and others in 'the trade' actively used their influence inside and outside parliament to discredit the teetotal movement. In 1834, they were not strong enough to stop the House of Commons Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry into drunkenness, which under the chairmanship of the teetotal supporter Silk Buckingham, made some forward-looking recommendations largely ahead of their time.

The large national organisations, the N.T.L., B.T.L. and their predecessors, provided a support network that helped the small, local societies. Practical help was given, for example in the form of cheap lectures, as well as the provision of temperance periodicals that reinforced the temperance ethos whilst informing readers on a variety of subjects. The armed forces were not neglected, and special agents ensured that temperance was spread among the soldiers and sailors.

Women, although initially largely subjugated to a secondary, domestic role in the total abstinence movement, nevertheless gradually made their mark. Female societies were established, female lecturers spoke at meetings, and women gradually took their place on committees, working in an organisational capacity.

One would expect Chartism and teetotalism, two movements working for the improvement of the working classes, to interact at some point. Chartism, much shorter-

lived and politically orientated, shared some of its leaders and followers with the total abstinence movement. The establishment of Teetotal Chartist Societies attests to this. However, while some leaders, (William Lovett and Henry Vincent), supported teetotalism as a positive means of elevating the workers, others, (Daniel O'Connell), denounced it as ineffective. In addition, by no means all teetotallers were willing to identify themselves with Chartist principles, many positively refuting their demands. In the end, while the two movements had the best intentions, it was not possible for them to work closely together without detracting from the main aim of each (the charter / a drink-free society).

The attitude of the churches towards teetotalism varied greatly, but generally it can be said that up to the 1860s the higher up the church hierarchy the less enthusiasm there was. However, church support was essential on a local level for providing venues for meetings, and clergy were sometimes catalysts for the spread of teetotalism.

This thesis will now examine a very influential teetotal figure: Joseph Livesey.

Reference Notes

Chapter 3 Buckle on your Armour

¹ *The Youthful Tee-Totaller*, no. 6, June 1836, p. 44.

² Livesey: 1885, p. 65.

³ Born in 1794, Thomas Beaumont was the son of a Wesleyan minister who was one of the earliest preachers to work with John Wesley. He was a total abstainer for over thirty years. As well as being an eminent surgeon, and author of *Nature and Properties of Alcoholic Drink*, he was a member of Bradford Council. He was connected with most of the benevolent and philanthropic institutions of the town, and argued their case with eloquence. He was also a staunch opponent of tobacco, (Couling: 1862, p. 273).

⁴ Quoted in Couling: 1862, p. 53.

⁵ Barrass: 1851, pp. 166 & 167; Pilkington argues the case of Henry Anderton, saddler by trade, claiming the title 'Father of the Temperance Movement' for him. See Pilkington: 1890, pp. 181-8.

⁶ Teare: 1847, p. 34.

⁷ Pilkington: 1894, pp. 9-10; Teare: 1847, pp. 34-5. See Longmate: 1968, pp. 64-9 for an account of Teare's life. Also, see Teare's *The History of the Advocacy of the Principle of Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Liquor*, for his version of his own important role in the teetotal mission up to 1846.

⁸ Afterwards cited as *History*. All extracts are from the 2nd edition, London, 1847.

⁹ Stephenson *et al*: 1864, p. 28.

¹⁰ Teare: 1847, pp. 15-6.

¹¹ *Facts about the Origin of the Teetotal Principle & Pledge*, contains interesting biographies of the following early teetotal workers; Henry Anderton, Thomas Swindlehurst, James Teare, Joseph Livesey, John Finch, Thomas Walmsley, George Toulmin, John King, Edward Grubb and Richard Turner.

¹² Teare: 1847, p. 18; Pilkington: 1894, p. 22.

- ¹³ Pilkington later branded it as an 'inaccurate joint pamphlet' and noted that two of the early Preston teetotallers, Henry Bradley and Thomas Swindlehurst, refused to put their names to it because of its 'inaccuracies', (Pilkington: 1894, p. 24). This accusation was received second-hand, however, from Thomas Swindlehurst's brother and from James Duthie, a friend of Bradley's, for both Bradley and Thomas Swindlehurst had died by 1894, the year of Pilkington's publication.
- ¹⁴ Stephenson *et al*: 1864, p. 31; *ibid.*, pp. 5-6. The Teare Testimonial Fund was launched in Bristol in 1860 after he pleaded destitution. When he died in 1864, he was found to have been 'comfortably off', and there was suspicion that his allegedly miserly habits had misled people as to his true financial situation. However, 'he made posthumous amends by bequeathing 100 guineas for two prize essays in his memory', (Longmate: 1968, p. 68).
- ¹⁵ Quoted in Pearce: 1885, p. lxxiv.
- ¹⁶ Stephenson *et al*: 1864, p. 11.
- ¹⁷ Dearden: 1873, p. 4; Pilkington: 1894, p. 24.
- ¹⁸ Teare: 1847, pp. 12-3; Pilkington: 1894, p. 23; Stephenson *et al*: 1864, pp. 19-20.
- ¹⁹ Pilkington: 1894, p. 24.
- ²⁰ Pearce: 1885, p. lxxiv; Peace: 1885, fn. p. xv.
- ²¹ *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1831, p. 207.
- ²² See *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1831, p. 205.
- ²³ Stephenson *et al*: 1864, p. 31.
- ²⁴ Teare: 1847, p. 9.
- ²⁵ Livesey: 1867, p. 4.
- ²⁶ Pearce: 1885, p. lxxix.
- ²⁷ Pilkington: 1894, p. 7; Livesey, 1867-8, p. 4; *The Moral Reformer*, August 1 1832, p. 245.
- ²⁸ For example Joseph Dearden in his *Forty Years Ago; or the Dawn and Spread of Teetotalism*, 1873, p. 4.
- ²⁹ King was a Preston clog maker.
- ³⁰ Pilkington: 1894, pp. 26-8.
- ³¹ John Gratrix, Edward Dickinson, John Broadbent, John Smith, David Anderton and John King. Only John King and Joseph Livesey remained 'staunch' teetotallers; Livesey: 1867, pp. 4-5.
- ³² For example, see Urwin's *A Weaver at the Loom of Time*, and the Rt. Hon. Margaret Bondfield's *Joseph Livesey? A Man of Destiny*.
- ³³ For example, see 'Temperance Reformers' in *Meliora*, vol. III, 1861, pp. 348-53. The first teetotal pledge-signing is called 'the natal day of English Teetotalism. These men deserve an everlasting memorial'.
- ³⁴ *Meliora*, vol. VIII, 1865, p. 137.
- ³⁵ Livesey: 1867, p. 17; Pilkington: 1894, p. 10; Longmate: 1968, p. 65.
- ³⁶ He instigated the system of visiting, and divided Preston into districts, each with a captain. Livesey sub-let the Cockpit from the Earl of Derby for a number of years after 1832.
- ³⁷ Stephenson *et al*: 1864, p. 32.
- ³⁸ Whittaker: 1885, p. 290.
- ³⁹ Figures taken from the Earl of Stanhope's address to the grand festival of the South London Auxiliary of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, *The Temperance Journal*, June 1 1839, p. 187.
- ⁴⁰ Couling: 1862, p. 54.
- ⁴¹ Dearden: 1873, p. 4.
- ⁴² *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1832, p. 210.
- ⁴³ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, April 1836, p. 59 and Pearce: 1885, p. 106.
- ⁴⁴ See Couling: 1862, pp. 90-136 for a detailed account of the 'pledge war'.
- ⁴⁵ Whittaker: 1885, p. 298.
- ⁴⁶ Field: 1897, p. 17; Faulkner: 1980, p. 5; Whittaker: 1885, p. 300.
- ⁴⁷ *The Temperance Journal*, June 1 1839, p. 198; for details of the in-fighting in the B.F.T.S. see Harrison: 1994, pp. 134-8.
- ⁴⁸ Whittaker: 1885, p. 299.
- ⁴⁹ Burns: 1889a, pp. 158-60 & pp. 210-11.
- ⁵⁰ The London Temperance League was established in 1851 to do temperance work among the crowds that the great exhibition brought to London, (Gourlay: 1906, pp. 100-1).
- ⁵¹ Whittaker: 1885, p. 302.
- ⁵² *The British Temperance League Register and Year Book for 1857*: p. 10.
- ⁵³ *The British Temperance Advocate*, July 1 1859, p. 78.
- ⁵⁴ It ceased publication at or near the end of 1836. The *British Temperance Advocate* replaced it and obtained a circulation of 42,000 in 1858, (*British Temperance League 1858*: p. 43).
- ⁵⁵ *The British Temperance Advocate*, July 1 1859, p. 78.

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- ⁵⁶ The resolutions of the August 1837 annual Temperance Conference can be seen in *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 8, August 1837, pp. 60-1.
- ⁵⁷ Pilkington: 1894, pp. 58-9.
- ⁵⁸ *The British Temperance Advocate*, July 1 1859, p. 79.
- ⁵⁹ For example, see *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. I, no. 11, Oct. 1836, p. 175.
- ⁶⁰ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. II, no. 20, July 1837, p. 99.
- ⁶¹ All information on the National Temperance League is taken from annual volumes of the *Annual Report and Register* for 1856-1870, henceforward *N.T.L. Annual Report*.
- ⁶² For example, a memorial was sent to Gladstone in March 1860 opposing a bill to regulate the licensing of refreshment rooms and to grant wine licenses.
- ⁶³ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1863*, p. 35.
- ⁶⁴ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1860*, p. 24.
- ⁶⁵ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1863*, p. 34; Burns: 1889a, p. 441.
- ⁶⁶ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1857*, p. 11; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, p. 12.
- ⁶⁷ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1860*, p. 18; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, pp. 19-20; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1868*, p. 18.
- ⁶⁸ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1865*, pp. 10-11; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, p. 1; *ibid.* p. 2; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1868*, p. 21.
- ⁶⁹ The inability of some representatives to speak French made their contributions to the discussions impossible, (*N.T.L. Annual Report 1857*, p. 16).
- ⁷⁰ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1859*, p. 10.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ⁷³ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, p. 13; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1865*, pp. 12-3.
- ⁷⁴ Barrass: 1851, pp. 170-1.
- ⁷⁵ Pearce: 1885, p. 65. The rattle is in UCLAN.
- ⁷⁶ Dearden: 1873, p. 7; For more details of the tour from a first-hand account of its progress, see Livesey's *Autobiography* pp. 66-7. See also 'Temperance Missionary Tour' in *The Temperance Advocate*, August 1 1833, pp. 254-8. Tract distribution was taken very seriously. Bristol Total Abstinence Society, from 1836 to 1839 issued 220,150 tracts, 209,000 single papers, and 80,000 periodicals, (*The Temperance Journal*, July 13 1839, p. 242).
- ⁷⁷ Burns: 1889a, p. 90; Couling: 1862, p. 63; Burns: 1889a, p. 91.
- ⁷⁸ Parry: 1993, p. 98.
- ⁷⁹ *British Temperance League 1857*: pp. 13-4.
- ⁸⁰ Burns: 1889a, p. 91.
- ⁸¹ *The Temperance Journal*, Jan. 5 1839, p. 7.
- ⁸² *N.T.L. Annual Report 1858*, p. 12.
- ⁸³ Whittaker, 1885, p. 373. For more details of this remarkable man from Blackburn, Lancs. see his autobiography *Life's Battles in Temperance Armour*.
- ⁸⁴ Quoted in Pearce: 1885, p. cxxxix.
- ⁸⁵ Couling: 1862, p. 95; *The Temperance Journal*, Aug. 31 1839, p. 298; *The Teetotal Progressionist*, no. 5, 1853, p. 67.
- ⁸⁶ Burns: 1889a, p. 360.
- ⁸⁷ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1865*, p. 16.
- ⁸⁸ Longmate: 1968, pp. 144-5.
- ⁸⁹ Bungay: 1881, pp. 33-4.
- ⁹⁰ Quoted in 'Apostolic Neephalism; or the Teetotalers and the Dean of Down', 1860, no. 8, p. 14, in the bound volume *Pamphlets*, by F. R. Lees.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 14.
- ⁹² *N.T.L. Annual Report 1858*, p. 25; Longmate: 1964, p. 145.
- ⁹³ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1859*, pp. 12-3.
- ⁹⁴ *The Moral Reformer*, no. 1, Jan. 1 1833, pp. 12-19; See for example *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 9, Sept. 1834, p. 70.
- ⁹⁵ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 3, March 1837, p. 17.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 9, Sept. 1834, p. 70.
- ⁹⁷ *The Temperance Journal*, Feb. 8 1839, p. 45.
- ⁹⁸ Quoted in Pilkington: 1894, p. 27.
- ⁹⁹ *Livesey's Progressionist*, no. 2, 1852, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁰ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, p. 28.

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- ¹⁰¹ Harrison: 1994, p. 145.
- ¹⁰² Pilkington: 1890, p. 206; Couling: 1862, p. 354; *ibid.* p. 97; Longmate: 1968, pp. 68-72.
- ¹⁰³ Pilkington: 1890, p. 213.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Harrison: 1994, pp. 106-8.
- ¹⁰⁵ *The Spectator* provided the nickname, which stuck. James Silk Buckingham wrote to the editor saying that it was 'easier to laugh than to think', (quoted in Longmate: 1968, p. 96); For details of Buckingham see Harrison's 'Two Roads to Social Reform: Francis Place and the "Drunken Committee" of 1834'.
- ¹⁰⁶ Harrison: 1968a, pp. 277-8; Hammonds: 1930, p. 160.
- ¹⁰⁷ It was stated that the act forbidding anyone without a licence from employing coal-whippers was revoked around 1832. From that time, public houses took over as employment agencies, much worsening the conditions for the coal workers.
- ¹⁰⁸ See also evidence from Mark Moore (Q. 26, Q. 28, Q. 93 & Q. 96).
- ¹⁰⁹ Appendix 4, of the Report, 'On the Effects of Intemperance on Military Discipline', pp. 566-8.
- ¹¹⁰ 'Drunken Committee' Report: 1834, p. 559.
- ¹¹¹ Harrison: 1968a, p. 280.
- ¹¹² Longmate: 1968, p. 95.
- ¹¹³ For details of Place's criticisms see Brian Harrison's 'Two Roads to Social Reform: Francis Place and the "Drunken Committee" of 1834'.
- ¹¹⁴ See John Edgar's testimony, where he claimed '10,000,000 gallons of spirits were drunk in Ireland' in 1828 (Q. 754 & Q. 757).
- ¹¹⁵ Harrison: 1968a, pp. 281-3.
- ¹¹⁶ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, May 1837, p. 34.
- ¹¹⁷ Couling: 1862: p. 82.
- ¹¹⁸ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 9, 1834, p. 65.
- ¹¹⁹ He lectured on behalf of the British and Foreign Temperance Society and was influential in persuading local councils to adopt restrictive licensing measures in Liverpool and Sheffield. He played an important part in the amalgamation of smaller societies into the N.T.L. in 1843. He did not stand for re-election to parliament in 1837, largely due to the unsuccessful conclusion to his compensation claim against the East India Company. He went to America for three years but remained an ambassador for the temperance movement both there and on his return to England, until his death in 1855, (Longmate: 1968, p. 96).
- ¹²⁰ The 1855 Select Committee was further accused of misrepresenting the cause of riots in Hyde Park (the so-called 'Sunday Trading Riots'), these being against proposed restrictions on Sunday trading and not on the shorter opening times of public houses introduced the previous year. For more on these riots see Harrison, 'The Sunday Trading Riots of 1855'.
- ¹²¹ Longmate: 1968, p. 65.
- ¹²² Winskill: 1881, p. 253.
- ¹²³ Quoted in Pearce: 1885, p. cxxxix.
- ¹²⁴ Whittaker: 1885, p. 336.
- ¹²⁵ Field: 1897, p. 22.
- ¹²⁶ Raistrick: 1972, p. 54.
- ¹²⁷ *The British Temperance Advocate*, vol. XVIII, 1851, pp. 39-40; Hewitson: 1969, p. 227.
- ¹²⁸ Winskill: 1881, p. 252; Longmate: 1968, p. 75.
- ¹²⁹ *The British Temperance Advocate*, vol. XVIII, 1851, p. 17.
- ¹³⁰ Burns: 1889a, p. 451; Winskill: 1881, p. 252.
- ¹³¹ *The Temperance Journal*, Feb. 9 1839, p. 47; *Retford Advertiser Supplement*, July 7 1855.
- ¹³² Poem included in a bound volume of the *Preston Temperance Advocate*, 1834-7, n.p.
- ¹³³ John Shapcott, who ran the Exeter to Tiverton coach service, taught each of his large family to play a musical instrument. The brass band of 'Shapcott and Sons' was often in demand at temperance meetings and drew large audiences, (Longmate: 1968, p. 72).
- ¹³⁴ Burns: 1889a, p. 245.
- ¹³⁵ Harrison: 1994, p. 111.
- ¹³⁶ Obelkevich: 1976, pp. 189-90.
- ¹³⁷ Whittaker: 1885, p. 337.
- ¹³⁸ *Livesey's Moral Reformer*, no. 6, Feb. 10 1838, p. 46.
- ¹³⁹ *The Temperance Journal*, June 6 1839, p. 233; Livesey explained that where temperance was not popular, a charge of 6d was appropriate. However, in large towns where there was a big demand, 1s was preferable. Better provisions and decorations could then be provided 'and numbers of disorderly characters kept out, who come when the price is low, merely to gorge'. (*The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 11, Nov. 1835, p. 90); Livesey: 1867-8, p. 8.

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- ¹⁴⁰ *The Temperance Journal*, Jan. 19 1839, pp. 20-1.
- ¹⁴¹ Couling: 1862, pp. 65-6.
- ¹⁴² Ratafia de Cassis or Black Currant Liquor is made from 6 lbs. of blackcurrants, cloves, and ¼ oz. cinnamon. The juice is extracted from the currants after putting a little hot water on the skins and letting it stand for half an hour. The spices are added, also the juice and lump sugar. The whole is boiled and then left to stand. When needed, water is added to the concentrate to make up the drink.
- ¹⁴³ Whittaker: 1885, p. 337; *The Temperance Advocate*, April 6 1839, p. 113; Couling: 1862, p. 125.
- ¹⁴⁴ Couling: 1862, pp. 126-7.
- ¹⁴⁵ Burns: 1889a, p. 195.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 271.
- ¹⁴⁷ Couling: 1862, pp. 128 & 181.
- ¹⁴⁸ *The Temperance Advocate*, March 23 1839, p. 100.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 30, 1839, p. 105 and July 13 1839, p. 241.
- ¹⁵⁰ Longmate: 1968, pp. 73-4.
- ¹⁵¹ Whittaker: 1885, p. 343.
- ¹⁵² *N.T.L. Annual Report 1868*, p. 21.
- ¹⁵³ Quoted in Harrison: 1984, p. 114.
- ¹⁵⁴ Lees: *One Hundred Objections to a Maine Law; Sequel to the 'Argument' of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 109. Henceforward cited as *One Hundred Objections*. For biographical details of Lees see chapter 5.
- ¹⁵⁵ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, p. 29.
- ¹⁵⁶ *The Temperance Journal*, July 13 1839, p. 241.
- ¹⁵⁷ In December 1871 there were 55 British Workman houses nationwide, 40 of which were in and around Leeds, (*Rechabite & Temperance Magazine*, vol. II, no. 12, Dec. 1871).
- ¹⁵⁸ This is closely examined in Harrison, "'A World of Which We Had No Conception". Liberalism and the English Temperance Press, 1830 – 1872'.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Livesey's Moral Reformer*, no. 20, Nov. 1838, pp. 179-80.
- ¹⁶⁰ Harrison: 1994, p. 308.
- ¹⁶¹ *The Temperance Journal*, April 27 1839, p. 137 and March 30, p. 111.
- ¹⁶² *The Staunich Teetotaler*, July 1867 p. 109. References for *The Staunich Teetotaler* are taken from a single bound volume, Jan. 1867 - Dec. 1868.
- ¹⁶³ Harrison: 1994, p. 217.
- ¹⁶⁴ The scrapbook is in the Livesey Collection, UCLAN.
- ¹⁶⁵ Burns: 1897, p. 118.
- ¹⁶⁶ Whittaker: 1885, p. 150.
- ¹⁶⁷ Burns: 1889a, p. 105; Burns: 1897, p. 120; Burns: 1889a, p. 374. For details of Carlile see Winskill: 1897.
- ¹⁶⁸ Whittaker: 1885, p. 267.
- ¹⁶⁹ From a letter written by Anderton ref. C5 Correspondence, in UCLAN.
- ¹⁷⁰ 'What have Ladies to do with Temperance Societies?' in *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. VI, no. 66, May 1841, pp. 70-1.
- ¹⁷¹ Burns: 1889a, p. 107.
- ¹⁷² *The Journal of the New British & Foreign Temperance Society*, vol. II, no. 22, May 30 1840, p. 181.
- ¹⁷³ Burns: 1889a, p. 161; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1861*, pp. 16-7.
- ¹⁷⁴ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1868*, p. 15; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1861*, p. 13; Burns: 1897, pp. 120-1.
- ¹⁷⁵ Shiman: 1986, p. 182.
- ¹⁷⁶ Burns: 1897, pp. 118-128.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- ¹⁷⁸ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1861*, p. 14.
- ¹⁷⁹ Whittaker: 1885, p. 188.
- ¹⁸⁰ Winskill: 1897, p. 14. Medical practitioners' ignorance of alcohol's effect on the body was still lamented in the late 1860s, (*Executive Report 1866*: pp. 12-3).
- ¹⁸¹ Burns: 1897, p. 68.
- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- ¹⁸³ See Burns: 1897, pp. 65-84 for details of the medical men's contribution to understanding the effects of alcohol on the body; *Executive Report 1861*: p. 8.
- ¹⁸⁴ Burns: 1889b, p. 50; Whittaker: 1885, p. 188.
- ¹⁸⁵ Burns: 1897, p. 152.
- ¹⁸⁶ See the testimony of Julius Jeffreys, a doctor who served in India for a time. He noted that most of the drunkenness to be found there was on the European stations, (*The Temperance Journal*, June 1 1839).

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- ¹⁸⁷ *Temperance Journal*, vol. II, no. 50, Dec. 12 1840, p. 402.
- ¹⁸⁸ *The British Temperance Advocate*, April 1 1872, p. 928.
- ¹⁸⁹ *The Temperance Journal*, May 18 1839, p. 168.
- ¹⁹⁰ For biographical details of Havelock see Couling: 1862, pp. 303-4.
- ¹⁹¹ Burns: 1897, pp. 153-5.
- ¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 157; Burns: 1889a, p. 370.
- ¹⁹³ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1859*, p. 9; Burns: 1889b, pp. 12-3.
- ¹⁹⁴ Royal Army Temperance League papers, no. 5, n.d. These papers are in UCLAN's Livesey Collection.
- ¹⁹⁵ Weston: 1878, p. 81.
- ¹⁹⁶ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, May 1837, p. 34.
- ¹⁹⁷ Harrison: 1994, p. 321.
- ¹⁹⁸ *N.T.L. Annual Report 1861*, p. 9.
- ¹⁹⁹ Burns: 1897, pp. 168-70; Weston was one of only a select few women to be appointed Vice-President of the United Kingdom Alliance before 1929, (Hayler: 1953, p. 162).
- ²⁰⁰ For more details of Agnes Weston see her autobiography *Our Blue Jackets*.
- ²⁰¹ Longmate: 1968, pp. 105-6.
- ²⁰² *N.T.L. Annual Report 1867*, p. 22; *N.T.L. Annual Report 1868*, p. 18.
- ²⁰³ See Harrison's 'Teetotal Chartism'.
- ²⁰⁴ *The Temperance Journal*, vol. II, no. 18, May 2 1840, pp. 140-1.
- ²⁰⁵ Jones: 1975, p. 46; Harrison: 1973, pp. 193-6.
- ²⁰⁶ Jones: 1975, p. 45.
- ²⁰⁷ As previously mentioned, the Bradford Temperance Society split in 1843 over the short/long pledge controversy. The Bradford Long Pledge Association was formed in that year.
- ²⁰⁸ Shiman: 'Temperance and Class in Bradford: 1830-1860', p. 176.
- ²⁰⁹ Jones: 1975, p. 46; Harrison: 1973, p. 196.
- ²¹⁰ See Weiner: 1989, pp. 87-8 and pp. 125-7 for more on Lovett's involvement with the temperance movement.
- ²¹¹ *Rechabite Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 41, May 1846, p. 258.
- ²¹² *Id. ibid.*
- ²¹³ Weiner: 1989, p. 125; Jones: 1975, p. 47; Harrison: 1973, pp. 196-8.
- ²¹⁴ Harrison: 1973, pp. 203-4; Jones: 1975, p. 48.
- ²¹⁵ Harrison: 1973, pp. 204-6.
- ²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- ²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- ²¹⁸ Jones: 1975, p. 48.
- ²¹⁹ Harrison: 1973, p. 212.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-4.
- ²²¹ Jones: 1975, p. 45.
- ²²² *The Temperance Journal*, March 23 1839, p. 98.
- ²²³ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, October 1835, p. 75.
- ²²⁴ Burns: 1889a, pp. 302-3.
- ²²⁵ *The Temperance Journal*, Feb. 16 1839, p. 54.
- ²²⁶ This should not be confused with the Bradford Teetotal Hall, built in 1846.
- ²²⁷ Quoted in Shiman: 1986, p. 46.
- ²²⁸ Raistrick: 1972, p. 31.
- ²²⁹ See Whittaker's *Life's Battles*, pp. 321-31. Also, see 'Baseless Calumny' in *Brief Memoirs*, anon., n.d., in UCLAN.
- ²³⁰ Raistrick: 1972, p. 39.
- ²³¹ Whittaker: 1885, p. 221.
- ²³² Jeffreys spent much of his time writing for the cause and lecturing at home and abroad, especially in India. He was patron of the Bombay Temperance Union and vice-president of the National Temperance Society. For further biographical details see Couling: 1862, pp. 315-6.
- ²³³ Wightman: 1860, p. 4.
- ²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xi.
- ²³⁵ *N.T.L. Annual report 1861*, p. 18.
- ²³⁶ Field: 1897, p. 15.
- ²³⁷ See the reports of denominational annual conferences from the late 1860s, which show an increasingly favourable stand towards combating the drink problem and a willingness to take positive action. From the 1870s, support of the Alliance's permissive bill is evident.

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- ²³⁸ Shiman: 1986, p. 68.
- ²³⁹ *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. III, no. 144, Aug. 10 1839, p. 317.
- ²⁴⁰ *The British Temperance Advocate*, Oct. 25 1862, pp. 102-3; Shiman: 1986, p. 49; Burns: 1897, p. 91. For more detail on the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) see Shiman: 1986, pp. 99-109.
- ²⁴¹ *The Temperance Journal for 1839*, July 27 1839, p. 260.
- ²⁴² *Executive Report 1869*, pp. 15-17.
- ²⁴³ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. V, no. 56, July 1840, pp. 106-8.
- ²⁴⁴ Just two examples of personalities already cited in this chapter are James Teare and Thomas Beaumont.
- ²⁴⁵ The superintendent denied them access to the Edgar Street schoolroom on the grounds that John Wesley's rules were sufficient for any temperance society. They moved to the Temperance Hall in 1860 when the dynamic teetotaler Rev. C. Garrett, 'a giant in the cause', settled in Preston, (Pilkington: 1890, pp. 222-3).
- ²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- ²⁴⁷ Cornwall had the largest proportion of temperance members in 1835, 12,000 from a 350,000 population, (*The Preston Temperance Advocate*, Nov. 1835, p. 91).
- ²⁴⁸ *The Temperance Journal*, March 23 1839, p. 98.
- ²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, July 27 1839, p. 262.
- ²⁵⁰ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. I, no. 10, Sept. 1836, pp. 159-60.
- ²⁵¹ *The Temperance Journal*, Aug. 17 1839, p. 287.
- ²⁵² *SM*, July 16 1841, p. 14.
- ²⁵³ *Id. ibid.*
- ²⁵⁴ Shiman: 1986, pp. 53-6; Pilkington: 1890, pp. 224-5.
- ²⁵⁵ *Executive Report 1871*: p. 35.
- ²⁵⁶ Burns: 1897, p. 93.
- ²⁵⁷ Urwin: 1943, p. 34. In 1932, the Wesleyan, Primitive and United Methodists joined together as one Methodist body.
- ²⁵⁸ Ambler: 1989, p. 28; William Clowes was the other founder of Primitive Methodism.
- ²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- ²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69 & 70-1.
- ²⁶¹ Pilkington: 1890, p. 235.
- ²⁶² Ambler: 1989, p. 49.
- ²⁶³ Urwin: 1943, p. 37.
- ²⁶⁴ Ambler: 1989, p. 77.
- ²⁶⁵ For details of individuals from this area, see Urwin: 1943, p. 46.
- ²⁶⁶ *The Temperance Journal*, April 20 1839, p. 135.
- ²⁶⁷ Shiman: 1986, pp. 56-7.
- ²⁶⁸ Burns: 1889a, p. 144.
- ²⁶⁹ Wilson: c. 1923, pp. 34-5.
- ²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 43 & 53.
- ²⁷¹ Quoted in Russell: 1887, p. 15.
- ²⁷² Burns: 1889a, p. 161.
- ²⁷³ Shiman: 1986, p. 57; Urwin: 1943, p. 39 and Burns: 1897, p. 95.
- ²⁷⁴ Urwin: 1943, pp. 41 & 47.
- ²⁷⁵ *The British Temperance Advocate and Journal*, Nov. 15 1839, p. 129.
- ²⁷⁶ *The Temperance Journal*, Nov. 16 1839, p. 390; *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, no. 4, April 1837, p. 25.
- ²⁷⁷ Field: 1897, p. 11.
- ²⁷⁸ Shiman: 1986, pp. 57-9.
- ²⁷⁹ Burns: 1889a, p. 360.
- ²⁸⁰ At this dinner it was stated by the American speaker Eli Jones that the American Friends were much more supportive of teetotalism, (*The British Temperance Advocate*, July 1 1867, p. 460.).
- ²⁸¹ Livesey: 1867, p. 38.
- ²⁸² Shiman: 1986, p. 59.
- ²⁸³ *The British & Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. IV, no. 210, Nov. 14 1840, pp. 366-7; *The Rechabite Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 6, July 1840, p. 89.
- ²⁸⁴ *Temperance Journal*, vol. II, no. 13, March 28 1840.
- ²⁸⁵ *The British Temperance Advocate and Journal*, Jan. 15 1840, pp. 13 & 54; Shiman: 1986, pp. 61-2.
- ²⁸⁶ Shiman: 1986, p. 61; a detailed account of the temperance work of Cardinal Manning can be found in A. E. Dingle and B. Harrison, 'Cardinal Manning as Temperance Reformer'.

²⁸⁷ Daniel O'Connell, leader of the movement to repeal the Act of Union with England, took the pledge from Father Matthew in 1840, though he soon abandoned it on medical grounds. His attitude to temperance in 1840 was radically different from that of 1834, when he had poured contempt on Buckingham's 1834 Committee Report in the House of Commons, as already mentioned. He scorned total abstinence again from 1841.

²⁸⁸ It was convenient for teetotalers to sideline other economic factors likely to have contributed to the drop in consumption levels.

²⁸⁹ Barrass: 1851, p. 194.

²⁹⁰ Longmate: 1968, pp. 108-120.

²⁹¹ Burns: 1889a, pp. 398-9 & Harrison: 1994, p. 197.

²⁹² 'Apostolic Neephalism; or the Teetotalers and the Dean of Down', 1860, p. 3 in bound volume *Pamphlets*, ed. F. Lees, UCLAN.

²⁹³ See 'History of the Wine Question' in the *Supplement to the Temperance Advocate and Journal*, July 15 1841, pp. 71-8, for a succinct summary of the 'two wine' argument.

²⁹⁴ For a good presentation of Stuart's arguments on various points such as the Passover controversy, the marriage at Canaan, and the existence of different kinds of wine in the Bible, see the supplement 'The Wine Question' in the *Preston Temperance Advocate*, 1834-7, pp. 6-8; For a succinct exposition of Lees' sacramental wine argument see 'Summary of the Temperance-Scripture-Argument, condensed from the works of Dr F. R. Lees in bound volume *Pamphlets*, ed. F. R. Lees, pp. 1-7, UCLAN.

²⁹⁵ *Malt Liquor Lecture*, 1836, p. 26 and *The Temperance Journal*, Aug. 24 1839.

²⁹⁶ *British Temperance Advocate and Journal*, July 15 1841, p. 73.

²⁹⁷ *The Temperance Journal*, May 25 1839, p. 170.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 16 1839, p. 54.

²⁹⁹ Supplement to the *Preston Temperance Advocate*, 1834-7, p. 5.

³⁰⁰ See *The Staunch Teetotaler*, May 1867, p. 43.

³⁰¹ Shiman: 1986, pp. 72-3.

CHAPTER FOUR

GIVE IT UP.

JOSEPH LIVESEY (1794-1884): ‘THE FATHER OF
TEETOTALISM’



Joseph Livesey
Levitt, I., *Joseph Livesey of Preston*, front page.

‘I am a thorough-going teetotaler; I believe in teetotalism with all my heart’.

Livesey, J., *Joseph Livesey and his Teetotalism*.

In September 1884, Preston streets were lined by an estimated 10,000 mourners, anxious to pay their last respects to Joseph Livesey. Flags were flown at half mast from public buildings and seventeen carriages, including the mayor’s, followed the hearse along with 400 mourners on foot.¹ The public’s collective memory is fickle, however, and time obliterates many a hard-earned reputation. So it is with the ‘Preston Pioneer’ and founder of the English teetotal movement who today, a hundred and eighteen years after his death, is almost completely unknown to the general public. This chapter will examine this remarkable businessman who was both a moral and temperance reformer, and whose motto could well have been his advice to working men — ‘Give it up’.²

He has been called one of the great Englishmen of the nineteenth century to whom social historians ‘have yet to acknowledge and do justice’. He could be described as the epitome of the self made man, a caring and supportive husband and father, a person of strong Christian convictions and great philanthropic spirit. A close friend of his, Thomas Walmsley, described him as ‘the great organiser’, ‘the leading spirit’, ‘the presiding genius’, ‘the guiding, directing, controlling intelligence’, a man of ‘sympathetic nature and kindly manner’. Cheese factor by trade, between 1831 and 1843 he held local public office in various capacities, and throughout his long life was an exponent of radical causes. He voiced an extended, bitter critique of the establishment.

There is no shortage of complimentary books outlining the deeds of Joseph Livesey, although most of them have a partisan bias and seem to be based on Livesey’s own autobiography. An examination of Livesey’s life through analysis of his abundant writing would provide a more balanced picture, and that is what will be attempted here.³

First steps

Born in Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, Lancashire on March 5 1794, Joseph Livesey, the only surviving son of John and Janet Livesey, was orphaned at seven years old when his parents died of consumption in 1801. John Livesey had been at the forefront of industrial progress, being one of the first in the Preston and Walton district to make the transition from linen to cotton manufacture. He had set up his own workshop and warehouse and must have left his son well placed to reap the benefits of the industrial revolution. However, it was not to be, for Livesey's grandfather, a small farmer, took over the small, family textile business on the death of his son John. Being inexperienced in the management of such a concern, the business failed after a few years and the family resorted to traditional handloom weaving in order to survive. The loss of income was therefore accompanied by a loss of status in the local community. Livesey lived with his grandparents and uncle until he was twenty-one years old, working in the dark, dank cellar of his grandparents' cottage in Walton-le-Dale. He was afflicted with chronic rheumatism in his lower joints throughout his life, and suffered four attacks of rheumatic fever. His rheumatism was caused by his early working conditions coupled with an hereditary disposition, (his mother suffered from the same ailment). Recollecting his early days, Livesey made much of his poor childhood, and maintained a sympathetic attitude to the plight of the independent handloom weavers.⁴

His childhood was marked by deprivations common to child labourers. Time for schooling and play was severely limited. In his autobiography, he described his daily chores of fetching the water for household purposes from the river, and fetching the drinking water from a neighbour's pump. In addition to this, he made a three-mile round trip each day to Cockshot Farm in order to obtain milk. However, in common with many

successful working men of his generation, these years of hardship were to be the making of his personality and his social awareness.⁵

Livesey characterised his early infancy as being of ‘mental darkness and vice’.⁶ Walton-le-Dale’s public houses were ‘crowded with weavers’ who kept ‘St. Monday’ (a day off work to recover from Sunday night’s excessive drinking). The gravedigger, church bellringers and singers, and the parish clerk were all drunkards. His own father liked to drink, although Livesey refrained from actually labelling him a drunkard. However, ever the optimist, he described his infancy without malice or regret. ‘So far my history is of a cold and chilling character, and the reader will feel it more than I did myself’.⁷ His character had been moulded by his unfortunate circumstances, and he was not afraid to say so. In this respect, he appears to justify the comments proffered by Samuel Smiles many years later.

Indeed, so far from poverty being a misfortune, it may, by vigorous self-help, be converted even into a blessing; rousing a man to ~~that~~ struggle with the world in which, though some may purchase ease by degradation, the right-minded and true-hearted find strength, confidence, and triumph.⁸

Livesey encountered the requisite strength and confidence to succeed through rising above poverty using the entrepreneurial skills inherited from his father. However, he never felt as happy in the company of the wealthy as he did in that of the poor.

I have still all the feelings of a poor man; I prefer the company of poor people; [...] An order to “live upon sixpence a day and earn it” would not alarm me as it would most men. The plainest fare is what I like and what I prefer, and, as a rule, I should feel quite as happy at the poor man’s table as I have done in France and Germany, where we had seven or eight courses to dinner.⁹

Indeed, Livesey’s habitual dinner in adulthood was ‘three potatoes and a little butter, followed by a little pudding or roasted apples, or something equally simple, [that]

never costs more than 6d'. He stopped eating meat in 1867, considering there to be a great delusion about its nutritious qualities.¹⁰

Religion

Livesey is described as being 'essentially a religious man [whose] love of God and man was the great impelling principle of his being'.¹¹ Indeed, an analysis of his many writings, especially his journal *The Moral Reformer*,¹² shows his actions to be based on strong, Christian beliefs. He was motivated in adulthood by a sincere desire to improve the institutionalised church, believing it to have been marred by centuries of corruption until becoming 'a mass of ostentatious religious machinery' incapable of combating vice and crime. He particularly despised the plurality of many higher clergymen, going so far as to publish the numerous incomes from the various livings of some. He went further in 1833 when he wrote that the church 'is sowing extensively the seeds of infidelity and disgust', by propagating crime through examples of avarice and audacity.¹³

When young, he was an enthusiastic churchgoer, frequenting Walton's Anglican parish church. At sixteen years old, however, he became disillusioned by the drinking habits of the clergy, considering his parish clergy to be 'a sad, wet lot'.¹⁴ Certain church doctrines also troubled him. For example, despite having attended Confirmation classes in Walton-le-Dale, he declined at the last moment to take part in 'the solemn farce' of this sacrament. He justified his refusal on the grounds of its unscriptural nature, going so far as to describe it as 'dangerous'. He thought it was a useless custom, a ceremonial form that served merely to divert the people from thinking for themselves. Further, the declarations made by the bishop were untruthful, impracticable vows were forced upon the lips of the children, and a delusion was fostered as to their state in the sight of God ? regenerated,

with their sins forgiven and assured of God's favour and forgiveness. Livesey hated blind observance of antiquated forms and the unlimited submission to clerical power that obliterated 'real spiritual, active piety'.¹⁵

He experimented with a variety of denominations after leaving the Church of England, alternating between the Baptists, (Leeming St. Chapel, Preston), the Independents (at the north end of Chapel St), and the Methodists (in Back Lane). He became acquainted with the Scotch Baptists through the Portlock family of Preston. He was baptised with Charles Portlock in 1811 into this Baptist splinter group which prided itself on an exclusive theological soundness; 'Our souls seemed knit together, and many a happy night have we spent in talking upon religious subjects'.¹⁶ His grandfather and other relatives opposed the baptism, but Livesey was not to be dissuaded from his chosen course of action. He was filled with the 'zeal of a new convert'.

Livesey later reflected critically that he had been filled with a belief in the importance of religion, and an honest desire to use his zeal in the service of others but had spent a lot of time attempting to resolve controversial theological questions, eventually becoming 'the zealous advocate of opinions rather than the promoter of charity among all good people'.¹⁷ He became a reputable preacher through his connection with the Scotch Baptists, however. This stood him in good stead for public speaking and enabled him to meet his wife, as will be seen later. He considered that his connection with the Scotch Baptists had been a valuable defence against all the worldly temptations of youth, but regretted their tendency to be inward rather than outward looking.

In the June 1 1831 issue of his journal *The Moral Reformer*, the thirty-seven-year-old Livesey wrote a revealing article on his Christian beliefs.¹⁸ Criticising the state of the Christian churches at that time, he appealed for a return to what he termed 'primitive Christianity', the only effectual remedy against the vices of society that 'the religions of

the day' had failed to redress. The power of primitive Christianity lay in its call for peace, forgiveness and eternal life, based on appeals to reason and the heart. It was universally applicable, without limit of time or place. Livesey wanted a return to the first, pure Christian practices, unsullied by later influences of external grandeur, worldly or human power. The downfall of modern Christianity was its sustenance by power, wealth and fashion. None of these props was intended for the promotion of the good of mankind or for the spread of religion, but for 'unworthy ends'. He contrasted the chosen poverty of Jesus, who chose helpers from a humble station of life, and who disdained the appearance of earthly authority and preached a doctrine hated by those in power, with 'a rapacious clergy, with selfish and worldly designs', dressed in costly robes, conducting pompous ritual services in splendid man-made temples. The clergy alone were the 'principal authors of all the evil'. He denounced the modern clergy as being generally unqualified to labour 'after the primitive model'. Although versed in clerical doctrine and knowledgeable about the procedures of services, as sons of noble families drawn to the church for financial reasons their upbringing of luxury and elegance left them totally unprepared to teach the people self-denial and an abandonment of worldly trappings ? the true teachings of the gospels. Dissenting ministers were an exception, being chosen from within their societies without reference to birth or wealth. If they remained within their sphere they would be 'burning and shining lights'. However, Livesey lamented the removal of many to academies, where under the guise of learning they became tainted with the worldly affectations common to fashionable religion. The Dissenting academies had a similar (bad) effect on their students as Oxford and Cambridge had on theirs. The Methodist practise of local preaching was recommended as it made use of local talent, plain men untarnished by worldly affectations.

Livesey further stated in this article that the understanding of what constituted the duties of the clergy had been warped by a belief that current church practice was the same

as that of primitive Christianity. He railed against the practice of giving sermons: 'Paul never taught by sermons, nor do I think he was capable of such a drivelling method'. By detaching a sentence, 'or part of a sentence, and dividing and subdividing, till the words are exhausted, a great part of which are frequently strained beyond the real meaning and design of the writer, the whole thing is an effort of ability rather than an attempt to impart knowledge'. Sermons perverted the true meaning of scriptures, kept the people in ignorance and encouraged idleness in teachers, (they could even be bought 'ready-made').

For Livesey, the real work of true Christians consisted firstly of teaching 'the nations, ? the world, ? and every creature', and secondly of 'instructing, admonishing, and exhorting the societies which were formed in different places'. Jesus, the twelve apostles and selected others, as missionaries, carried out the former work. In his description of their methodology, Livesey reveals the source of his later teetotal campaign, which was based on very similar lines and was described in chapter three. Thus, travelling missionaries were active, they agitated and;

went from place to place, from city to city, and wherever they found men ignorant and depraved, there was their work pointed out. Time and place made no difference, ? in the synagogues, by the sea side, on a mountain, in a ship, at a publican's table [...] they were equally ready to instruct the people.vmmm¹⁹

In this way, 'great multitudes believed and turned to the Lord'. The apostles appointed faithful men, distinguished from the others only by their age, experience and zeal, as teachers to others in their societies. They took charge of their souls, working with their own hands to support themselves, but 'not for filthy lucre's sake' and were called bishops. Livesey contrasted the bishops of his days with the earlier ones. The perversion of Christianity meant that instead of having a number of bishops to a diocese, the reverse was the case. Their duties did not involve building places of worship or establishing ritual

services but were well set out in the Bible for all to read in 1 Timothy 3:1-7, 1 Timothy 1:5-9 and Acts 20: 17-35.

Livesey did not begrudge the clergy a living, but remonstrated against church livings, church property and especially against church tithes. As the early apostles had laboured for their bread, and only received assistance when needed, so should the modern clergy, for 'it is more blessed to give than to receive' (Acts, 20: 35).

Livesey particularly disliked the compulsory nature of some church dues, believing that the clergy had forfeit the right to tax the people for it did not uphold its end of the original 'bargain' made with the parishioners. As the church no longer looked after the poor, personally attending to their relief by supplying their wants from church revenues, (the original use made of Easter dues and tithes), then Livesey claimed it had forfeit its claims to such taxes. He also thought that the clergy should live from their own labour or from voluntary contributions, like their predecessors. He pointed to the animosity engendered by compulsory tithes, especially when legal suits were pursued in order to collect them.²⁰ He refused to pay church rates himself, feeling it was 'better to suffer as a protest against what I considered quite as injurious to the Church itself as unjust to those who never required its services'.²¹ It is not known if he joined the Church Rate Abolition Society, formed in 1836 as part of a vigorous petitioning campaign against the rates.²²

He objected to the uniform nature of tithes. Unable to accept that the clergy could levy a tax 'on every family in the parish', rich and poor alike, irrespective of services rendered or required, he thought it most unfair that the poor should be made to help the poor: 'I have known persons who have been forced to part with the last penny, to pay both [the poor rates] and the church tax'.²³ He recounted in his autobiography how a distraintment for non-payment of church rates enabled goods and furniture to be taken from various households, two fifty-one pound cheeses being taken from his warehouse. Great

excitement accompanied the attempted sale of the goods, in the presence of ‘some thousands of people’. However, the auctioneer failed to appear after a public address from Livesey, which nearly caused a riot, and eventually the goods were disposed of a safe distance away in Liverpool. The authorities eventually understood that he ‘preferred suffering to paying’ and decided that ignoring him was the best policy.²⁴

Livesey’s censorious attitude towards a hypocritical clergy is evident in the following episode, recounted in his autobiography. It occurred around 1811, when he was about seventeen years of age and still attached to organised religion. In order to talk to the local religious authorities about a dispute concerning the minister of the Baptist chapel, Livesey and others walked fourteen miles to an ordination ceremony. They listened attentively to the sermon entitled ‘One is your Master even Christ, and all ye are brethren’, which appealed to Livesey, — ‘Equality is what I admired’. However, he protested against the cost of 1s for the meal that followed, especially as the clergy and other dignitaries paid nothing.

I felt as one of the poor who really needed a dinner, and not having a shilling to spare, that the doctrine of equal brotherhood, though brilliant in the pulpit was not so in “word and deed.” [...] I protested against this eating and drinking [of the rich], and said that in primitive times men were ordained to the ministry with “prayer and fasting.” A poor, simple, ill-dressed, unknown lad lecturing divines on the primitive duties of self-denial! A regular laugh was the response, and indeed what else could be expected?²⁵

He had hoped to encounter less ostentation and more of Christ’s teachings in the clergy.

He finally abandoned all official churches but wished well ‘to every party, whatever their form of faith, worship, or discipline may be, who really fear God and try to bless and benefit their fellow creatures’. No date is specified for this in his autobiography.²⁶

Livesey labelled himself as a Primitive Christian, but he could also be called a Christian Socialist. He advocated their principles long before Frederick Denison Maurice (1805 – 1872), Charles Kingsley (1819 – 1875) and John Malcolm Ludlow (1821 – 1911) formally adopted the name. After the collapse of Chartism in 1848, the Christian Socialists advocated an active role for the Church in preventing revolution and addressing what were regarded as the reasonable grievances of the working class.²⁷ The theological basis of Christian Socialism is expounded in Maurice's *The Kingdom of Christ* (1838). Politics and religion are said to be inseparable, and the church is advised to assist in the resolution of social questions. For the Christian Socialists, the Christian faith would enable men to work with one another in society, instead of against one another. Livesey's advocacy of direct church participation in helping the poor is remembered here, ('If a minister wishes to be really useful he should visit the slums').²⁸

In the same year that Maurice wrote *The Kingdom of Christ*, Livesey wrote a short article 'Christian "Socialism"' in his journal *Livesey's Moral Reformer*. He argued that many newly converted socialists in Owen's camp were not truly committed to his community system. They had joined because of their disgust with the selfishness of professing Christians, and acknowledged Owen's 'superior social practices'. Livesey himself did not agree with Owen's co-operative communities. He stated that many of Owen's socialists were still committed Christians, and therefore uneasy at many of his declarations concerning religion, ('a cunningly devised fable'). Livesey defended a system of Christian Socialism for these people, and cited the New Testament in support. 'The socialism of pure Christianity is the most lovely in the world, and exactly suited by the Father of us all to the exigencies and wants of the human family'. Here, he was referring to the early (Primitive) Christian practices, such as their meetings held in each other's houses where there was no distinction between rich and poor, and where all could participate

actively in the ‘instructing, exhorting, and admonishing one another’. He blamed priests and councils for having mutilated Christianity into a ‘mass of barbarous ceremonies’. He regarded himself as a Christian Socialist, for he claimed that the Preston temperance meetings, of which he was an important member, were run along the lines of primitive Christians. Socialism was present in the way they instructed and helped one another, regardless of creed or party, giving freely of their time and efforts for the sake of saving a brother or sister from the iniquitous drink.²⁹

Over seventy years later, and in a very different Britain, F. C. Watts, a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, had a different opinion of the power of religion. He negated totally any possible good it could do for the working class. In *Socialism and Religion*, 1910,³⁰ he spoke out against the strong Christian Socialism in the labour movement, saying;

The modern mission of religion is to cloak the hideousness and injustice of social conditions and keep the exploited meek and submissive. [...] No man can be consistently both a Socialist and a Christian. It must be either the Socialist or the religious principle that is supreme, for the attempt to couple them equally betrays charlatanism or lack of thought.³¹

Early manhood

Livesey married Jane Williams, ‘an amiable, religious girl’, in Liverpool on May 30 1815. It was a very low-key marriage, conducted in the vestry of St Peter’s Church without trappings or ceremonial. He was twenty-one, she was nineteen and a half. He had inherited £30 on coming of age, just like a hero of one of the industrial romances who, although from a poor background, receives an unexpected helping hand: Oliver Twist in *Oliver Twist*, Pip in *Great Expectations*, or Margaret Hale in *North and South*. He had also

saved some money to furnish a cottage before marrying. He chose Jane for his wife before ever having seen her. His choice had been based on her religious credentials (she was a Scotch Baptist) and the favourable testimony of friends. They met at Sunday service, Cold House Chapel, Manchester, where Livesey had gone with the dual purpose of preaching and proposing. His sermon was much appreciated by Jane, and 'prepared her more than anything else to give a favourable response'.³² The yearlong courtship was mainly conducted through letters, although Livesey did walk the thirty miles to Manchester in order to see her on three occasions. He weakened once and travelled the last ten miles 'outside' a coach, at a cost of five shillings. He still begrudged it sixty years later.³³ However, he never regretted his unorthodox approach to choosing a partner, although he 'did not recommend such a course to others'. He advised people that 'so momentous a question [as marriage] requires more extensive knowledge and more opportunities of knowing each other'.³⁴ He described Jane as his 'counsellor in difficulties', as 'no lady wife; though respectably connected and accustomed to plenty before marriage, she willingly shared my poverty and privations'. She was sympathetic to sufferers, going out of her way to help relieve their distress. Until her death in 1869, Jane was an exemplary mother and helper during their fifty-four years of married life, contributing to the success of business and temperance ventures. For a long time she did all the housework as well as attending to business interests, and she would 'sit up past midnight making and mending the children's clothes'.³⁵

Preston

In his autobiography, Livesey recounted his initial, happy impressions of Preston, as embodied in his enjoyment of the four-yearly Guild festival of 1802.³⁶ Being of an

impressionable eight years of age, the splendour of the occasion left lasting memories. It is described by Anthony Hewitson (journalist and later proprietor and editor of *The Preston Chronicle*) in his *History of Preston*, first published in 1883.³⁷

[...] more than 200 gentlemen's carriages were daily parading the streets. In the early portion of the festival there were two very notable processions: one was a procession of all the principal noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, and manufacturers of this and the neighbouring counties ? John Horracks, the first great extender of the cotton trade of Preston, and John Watson, who, with Mr. Collinson, built and worked the first cotton mill in Preston, being in front of the manufacturers, while four and twenty young, blooming, handsome female cotton operatives, all wearing dresses made of locally manufactured material, headed the general body. The other was a procession of distinguished county ladies, who were preceded by the female operatives before named. These county ladies ? nearly 400 in number ? walked, in couples; each was adorned with a fine plume of feathers; all were exquisitely attired; some of them wearing dresses said to be worth even upwards of £10,000!

'Proud Preston',³⁸ would soon be almost unrecognisable. The first cotton mill had been erected in 1777, and by 1857 there were seventy-five cotton-spinning and manufacturing establishments comprising the mainstay of Preston's economic growth. Preston's population increased from 11,887 in 1801 to 69,361 in 1851. The expansion was 40% per decade in the 1830s and 1840s.³⁹ By 1851, after London, Lancashire was the most crowded area in Britain with 1,003 people per square mile. The next crowded county was Middlesex with 546 people per square mile. The social ills resultant from the rapid population growth meant that the life expectancy for the wealthy of Preston around 1842 was about forty-seven years, but for the poor it was only about eighteen.⁴⁰

When Livesey first moved to Preston, in 1816, it had 'little more than three main streets'.⁴¹ Bull baiting, cock fighting and horseracing were common. The Earl of Derby, who selected one of the parliamentary candidates of the constituency, and his family honoured the town with their presence during the annual race week, but these visits stopped when the Hon. Edward. G. Stanley, (the son of the 13th Earl of Derby, and later

Prime Minister from 1866-8), was defeated in the general election of December 1830 by the Radical Henry ‘Orator’ Hunt. Livesey supported Hunt. The Earl’s opposition to parliamentary reform was one of the main reasons for his defeat, for Preston had a strong radical tradition and an extensive franchise that allowed the expression of popular opinion.⁴²

Industrial growth led to terrible living and working conditions that in turn resulted in the highest infant mortality rate in the United Kingdom. It was basically a beer-drinking town. There were numerous beerhouses (so-called ‘jerry-shops’) and public houses. In the four years after the passing of the Beer Act in 1830, 190 new beerhouses had been established. In 1853, Livesey stated there were 364 places selling intoxicating liquor, whilst 1,546 people had been brought before the magistrates for committing a breach of the peace while drunk in 1852. The real figure for drunkenness was much higher, of course, for not all drunks were taken to court. In 1874, he claimed there were 470 public houses, and that 2,000 people went to bed drunk every Saturday night.⁴³

Preston was a model city for Charles Dickens’ fictitious Coketown (*Hard Times*), the symbol of inhumanity and oppression.

It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had [...] vast piles of buildings full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. It contained several large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, [...] to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and tomorrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next.⁴⁴

Dickens wrote *Hard Times* after a visit to Preston in the winter of 1853-4 during a devastating strike for higher wages by the textile factory workers. This resulted in the ‘Great lock out’, when a third of the town’s population was made idle because of the mill

masters' reprisals. Four strikers had been shot dead by troops in 1842. Such action led Marx to speculate that the revolution would start in Preston; 'our St. Petersburg is at Preston'. Dickens' intention was to obtain information about the new industrial man. He must have observed examples of the coarseness of life that centred around the beerhouses, such as the scene in Preston described by George Wilson, borough-reeve and witness to the Select Committee on Drunkenness.⁴⁵

I arose about seven o'clock, and looked from my bed-room at the gin-palace opposite to me; amongst [the many customers] I saw two coal-porters, apparently with women who appeared to be their wives, and a little child, about six or seven years old; these forced their way [to the bar] and came out again in a short time, one of the women so intoxicated, as to be unable to walk; she [...] fell on the pavement, with her legs partly in the shop, and her person exposed; the three who were with her [...] were so intoxicated as to be unable [to raise her and] customers to the house [...] passed by laughing at that which appeared to them a most comic scene. After a considerable time, [the three] then brought her to the side, and placed her against the door-post, and there she sat, with her head in her bosom, apparently insensible: the little child who was with her came and endeavoured to arouse her by smacking her on the legs, and on the body, and on the face, but she appeared quite insensible; the little thing appeared to be the most sensible of the party.⁴⁶

Livesey was recounting similar scenes more than forty years later, and blaming the lack of prosperity in Preston on the lack of capital and enterprise that had been 'largely caused by drink and dissipation'.⁴⁷

Livesey and his wife had moved to Preston in 1816. They lived in Park Street paying 2s 6d rent when Joseph's wages from spinning and weaving were only 10s. He recounts in his autobiography how a bout of sickness within the year sent him to the doctor, who prescribed cheese, bread and a little malt liquor to be taken in the morning. He bought a little cheese for 7d but discovered that the price included a 40% mark up on the wholesale price of 5d per lb. Realising that he could make some money, he borrowed a sovereign from a friend, John Burnett, and bought two whole cheeses for £1 4s 2d from a farmer anxious to clear his stock. He sold a pound to his friends for 5 1/2d, sold the rest at

the bottom of his street, and made more money in the day than was possible from weaving (18d profit, a 15% increase on his wages). Neighbours sought out the cheap cheese the following week, and so he was encouraged to set up business more seriously, eventually stopping weaving to sell cheese full-time in the market place.⁴⁸ Until 1824 he stood outdoors with other cheese sellers in Cheapside and then by the Corn Exchange. Sales increased until he had to turn over the retailing to his wife so that he could deal in whole cheeses himself.⁴⁹ He became a wholesale dealer, one of a number in Preston, travelling the poor roads into the countryside first on foot then on his pony 'Billy', to buy direct from the farmers in order to sell at Preston, Bolton, Chorley and Wigan markets. The weekly journey to Bolton alone was a forty-mile round trip.

Livesey relied on the production of others. However, cheese making was largely a marginal activity for the farmers, and production was not as reliable or of as good a quality as it might have been. Livesey knew that premium cheese attracted larger profits, and used persuasion, argument and education to ensure the quality. He later used his own newspaper, the *Preston Guardian*, to this end. Living near to the expanding urban demand, Livesey was well placed to take advantage of the vigorously expanding cheese market. As the grandson of farmers, he dealt with people of his own kind, the difference being that he came from an area where farmers had diversified into weaving, whereas they came from another where they specialised in dairy products. His cheese business thrived for over fifty years, provided employment for three or four of his sons, and supported his infant printing and publishing business and all his charitable works.⁵⁰

Livesey had thirteen children in all, four dying in infancy.⁵¹ He had twenty-seven grandchildren. An interesting side to his character is revealed by the fact that one of his greatest fears was that his children would bring shame to the family reputation through immoral conduct: 'There are very few families, even among the wealthy, which have not

had to lament the profligacy of some of their sons'. To counter any such tendency he kept them at home under his watchful eye, careful to 'put no restraints on their youthful vivacity', and encouraged them to work from an early age: 'Idleness, whether in young or old, nearly always leads to evil'.⁵²

The Educator

Livesey's dislike of idleness was rooted in a belief that idle hands get into mischief. Work was one remedy for this. However, Livesey also had a strong belief in the benefits of education. He was largely self-taught, and recounts proudly how he balanced the book he was reading on the breast-beam of his handloom, using a support he had designed himself. The first book he bought, second hand, was *Jones' Theological Repository*. He read it 'long into the night, [along with others he borrowed] by the glare of the few embers left in the fire-grate, with my head close to the bars'. As Margaret Clark pointed out, Livesey lacked the classical component of a gentleman's education and never went to university, but was not 'uneducated' in the contemporary sense of the word. His profuse writings from an early age support this view.⁵³

Education was an on-going process for Livesey, beginning at birth and ending only at death, and where the influences that affect the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual development of man were vital.⁵⁴ Livesey's article on education in the March 1 1831 issue of his journal *The Moral Reformer* is illustrative of his ideas on the paramount role of parents in the education of their children.⁵⁵ For the purposes of his article, he defined education as 'That mental, moral, and physical training of youth, which is calculated to lead to the performance of all those duties, on which their personal and social happiness depends'.⁵⁶ Concentrating on domestic rather than scholastic education, Livesey criticised

the clamour concerning education at that time for its almost exclusively 'mechanical' or 'intellectual' nature. The principles of moral reformation and social happiness had been neglected in favour of physical, intellectual and mechanical prowess, to the detriment of society; a 'cementing bond' was altogether missing. Livesey stated that the principal responsibility for the education of children lay with the parents, and drew a direct link between the 'immoral and disorganised state of society' and the 'neglect of domestic instruction'. Whilst lack of time and ability excused parents from the 'literary part' of their children's education, the same excuse should not be used regarding religious instruction for it required no money and very little time. Livesey advocated home visits to parents by religious instructors, with the aim of encouraging and helping them in their parental duties. He also stressed the importance of parents acting together, in support of each other. In particular, Livesey advised parents to begin their children's moral and social instruction as early as possible. He advised them to lay a good foundation by teaching children the duty of filial subordination. He stressed the importance of keeping them away from bad example. Justice, sincerity and speaking the truth should be inculcated as early as possible for they were necessary to the survival of society. The virtues of kindness, compassion and benevolence should also be taught. Livesey advocated home visits by rich children to the poor and needy, where an appreciation of the 'true and vivid representation of human suffering' could be gained. Livesey took his own children on such visits, and often complemented the exercise by getting them to write a report of what they had seen. The following is an extract from one such report of a visit undertaken on January 16 1831. The purpose was to ascertain the veracity of claims for relief made to the Poor Board.

S ? , lives at a lodging house, [...]. When we called there were seven or eight very dirty looking people sitting round the fire, and two very dirty small children playing with a cat; she stated herself to be very ill off, but has no family dependent upon her, nor any husband.

O ? live in M ? street. They have only one boy, who goes regularly a begging and selling matches, his father makes and repairs umbrellas; they were very poor, but are not deserving characters.

W ? live in Q ? street. They have four children, three boys and one girl, two of them go to school, but the others stay at home; they are of a deserving case, the children clean and tidy. They earn about six shillings per week by weaving, and have two shillings from the town.⁵⁷

Livesey did not give the age of his children, but their judgmental reports show they have learned the lessons of their father regarding the segregation of aid recipients. This classification of charity seekers into ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ was a widespread practice, as mentioned in chapter 1.1. In an article on the poor in *The Moral Reformer*, Livesey divided the destitute into three classes: those who are poor in consequence of their own vicious and immoral conduct (numerous, many of them ‘worthless characters’); those who are poor from the operation of unequal laws leading to the misapplication of the wealth of the nation; and ‘the *naturally* poor’ (for example the physically and mentally deficient). The ‘deserving poor’ are clearly identifiable as those clean, tidy people who make an attempt at self-improvement. Livesey was a great believer in order and cleanliness, and found no excuse for the poor not washing their clothing, walls and utensils often; ‘personal dirt and filthiness ought to be held in abhorrence’.⁵⁸

Livesey advised in his article that children be taught how to behave in society; ‘selfishness, petulancy, rudeness, revenge and duplicity’ were all to be discouraged. Habits of industry were similarly encouraged. He did not agree with confined employment in factories for children, however, although he recognised that the poor had little choice where employment was concerned, and ‘employment of any description is to be preferred to a course of idleness’. Where possible, the qualifications of the children should be taken

into account when selecting a profession. Above all, Livesey felt that the teaching of religion and piety should be pre-eminent. Every opportunity should be taken to teach the Bible and the omnipotence of God the creator. Delegation of this task to a Sunday school or church was not acceptable. Family instruction and prayer were recommended, where children could be led to understand through the heart as well as the mind.⁵⁹

Although a consistent supporter of intellectual development, Livesey feared that if it were not accompanied by a strengthening of 'moral feelings' the result would be 'capacitating individuals for greater mischief, and increasing their facilities for the commission of vice'.⁶⁰ He insisted throughout his life on parents being the best qualified to teach their children, and blamed drink for incapacitating many, leading to the necessity of School Boards and charity education. In 1876 he wrote, 'You will find no teetotaler's children among the neglected, requiring a charity education'.⁶¹

The 1820s and 1830s witnessed the great increase in popularity of the Sunday school. Most denominations adopted the idea and established Sunday schools to impart elementary knowledge and religious instruction. Where church attendance was low, especially in the textile towns, (Preston had one of the lowest working class church attendance records at this time), employers supported the teaching of God's law as a means of enforcing subordination, thrift, self-denial, punctuality and obedience.⁶² Livesey detailed the promotion of 'peace, order, subordination, industry, cleanliness, honesty, morality and piety' as the Sunday schools' main benefits.⁶³ He established his own free Sunday and Evening schools with the help of Jane soon after his marriage, but he concentrated on teaching useful skills, not deference. The following printed bill explains the character of their Sunday school.

YOUTH'S SUNDAY SCHOOL

Poor people in Preston and the neighbourhood are kindly informed, that a Sunday school for youth of both sexes, from fourteen to twenty-one years of age, is kept in a commodious room, No. 4, Shepherd Street. The scholars are confined to those of the above age; and as every attention is paid to their instruction, with the liberty of going to their own places of worship, parents and guardians of youth will find this a favourable opportunity of providing for the education of those who are obliged to labour through the week ? such as have no learning, or are in danger of losing that which they have. [...] All Gratuitous ? Preston, February 1st, 1825.⁶⁴

George Toulmin, who became proprietor of the *Preston Guardian* on Livesey's retirement in 1859, was a pupil of this school. Livesey claimed that his Youth's Sunday school, (held at the Cockpit, Preston), was popular because 'in addition to reading and instruction, we taught them to write [...] and also grammar'.⁶⁵ It was certainly the only one in the town providing free education to those aged between fourteen and twenty-one, and continued for seven years.⁶⁶

Most Sunday schools refrained from teaching writing and arithmetic, for it was thought that working class children had no use for such things. On the contrary, it was supposed that excessive literacy skills would be prejudicial to the social and economic well being of society.⁶⁷

Livesey wrote *Remarks on the Present State of Sunday Schools, with hints for their Improvement* in 1829, after extensive visitation of Sunday schools, in the hope of rendering them more effective. Recognising the defects of many of the teachers, (poor qualifications and irregular attendance), he nevertheless appreciated the difficulties in obtaining any at all. The 'leading persons of most congregations' were admonished for not taking a more active part in the schools, for deeming them beneath their notice and beyond their duty. He directed his attention to the following points. The adopted books, especially those for the elementary classes, were totally unsuitable for their purpose. 'Part first of the Union Spelling Book' and 'Part 2nd of the Reading Book', both widely used, were set out in such

a way as to confuse the comprehension of spelling and reading classification, presented overlong lessons and lacked a suitably graded scale of difficulty. Given the circumstances, he was surprised that a series of excellent elementary books had not been published by the Sunday School Union Committee. Livesey pointed out that the Sunday school timetable was far too long for the children of between six and fourteen years old that attended. Meeting at 9 am for one and a half hours, attending morning church service, meeting again for a short while after service and then again from 1 pm until after afternoon service was far too much. 'Pulpit harangues' were also of no value to tired children who had spent the previous six days at work. Livesey advised that the instruction should take place in parallel with the church service, and consist of 'a short, familiar address, in the school [...] or a system of interrogations affectionately pursued'. When ready, suitable children could attend one of the services. Compulsory, long confinement, after a hard week's work, was what most upset Livesey, and was the reason for most children leaving the schools as soon as possible. Livesey stressed that it was important to keep adolescents under supervision, for they were confronted by many temptations. Hence, the need to provide interesting instruction for them that would keep them from vice.

Livesey's answer was to provide special schools to cater for the 14 – 21 year-olds. His Youth School has already been mentioned, and in *Remarks* he gave a detailed account of how the instruction was given there. Without admitting that the only such school in Preston at that time (1829) was run by himself, he described how the forty to fifty boys were successfully encouraged by the teachers to learn. No compulsion was used, lessons were held only in the morning and commenced with a reading of scripture. Then the different teachers held a forty-minute reading and spelling lesson. Every boy then wrote a copy, each line being examined. At the end of the lesson, an impartial judge directed the boy to a higher or lower seat. After cleaning their slates, each boy wrote a passage from

scripture he had memorised, but without copying it. They were then invited to read their compositions, and answer questions on them. Events of a local nature (drownings, murders or executions) were used as a pretext for ‘useful observations’. The session ended with a prayer.⁶⁸

Livesey was distressed by ‘the three or four thousand youths from the age of 12 to 21 in Preston, who were growing up without restraint, in ignorance, vulgarity and vice’. He deprecated the people who were content with external arrangements, with forming societies ‘the weight of whose machinery, often renders them comparatively useless’ and advocated visiting ‘the enemy’s camp [and assailing] the strong holds of the adversary [to] rescue the captives from his hands’. In 1853, however, Livesey admitted that the Youth’s School he had run for seven years and in which he invested so much time and effort had achieved disappointing results. On leaving, the boys mixed with bad company at work or at leisure, and fell into ‘low practices, some [becoming] great drunkards’.⁶⁹ He perceived the fundamental problem as being the lack of suitable parental instruction and guidance, and claimed adult education to be more important than that of children.

His final comments in *Remarks* were directed at Doctor Chalmers’ Local System of teaching, which he thought particularly useful. The idea was identical to that of the Primitive Christians, for the Christian teacher ‘of good character’ would go into the most neglected parts of town, assemble a maximum of twenty eager students from a particular neighbourhood, and arrange a central place in which to teach. Being near their homes, the children would not be tempted to miss school on the short journey there. The timetable could be fixed to suit all concerned. No formal organisation was involved, leaving the teacher free to teach and act as he saw fit. The only expense would be a few books that, if necessary, ‘the learners would pay for themselves’. Lack of decent clothing would cease to be an obstacle to attendance. The ‘local’ system, by attending the poorest and most

profligate children, was capable of a 'glorious transformation' not attainable by the general system.⁷⁰

Concerning ordinary schools, Livesey preferred private, secular ones funded from voluntary contributions. The resultant variety of educational establishments would be free from the quarrels concerning religious instruction and entail no additional tax on the people, whilst providing ample choice for parents. The absence of a national system would minimise government interference, patronage and corruption.⁷¹ He advised parental caution in their selection in his 'Education' article of March 1 1831.⁷² Not all teachers were of the desired quality, and so he recommended a visit to the school before making any decision. In this way, the abilities of the teacher could be appraised. Knowledge was not the only thing to take into account, but methods of class control, learning materials and facilities were also important. Conscious that the poor were unable to choose a school, he warned that the managers and subscribers should take the same care as if they were judging for their own families. Livesey praised infant establishments as being far superior to dame's schools for the very young. After these, the National and Lancasterian schools, affording the only educational opportunities to the poor, were superior to some private, fee-paying establishments. Livesey objected to the ritual saying of prayers in the National schools, for the practice tended to 'engender formality' and made sacred things too common. Prayers recited in the pupils' own words were far better. Also, some poor parents conscientiously objected to the form of prayers, but had no alternative school available.⁷³ He criticised the 'common' schools for their neglect in teaching morals, and for their reliance on the memory, the hands and the tongue (as opposed to the Scottish schools that 'instructed the understanding'). He recommended less book learning and more short lectures on a variety of topics, with 'a constant reference to sensible objects', in plain language, followed by a question and answer session.

Livesey believed that the books used to teach reading in schools were inappropriate for children, and especially deplored the use of the Bible for this purpose. His objection was based on the fact that it was unintelligible to children 'in its present form'. Never one to be content with simple criticism, he wrote his own book on how to teach reading, *The First Book for persons learning to read*, 1829.⁷⁴ He believed it to have had 'some merit'. Lessons were a page long and finished with a verse of his own poetry (for which he confessed he had 'no talent'). He showed no modesty in proclaiming his work 'better adapted for beginners than those in any elementary work I have seen'.⁷⁵ The following comments are illustrative of the contempt he held for certain teaching practices.

The art of reading, in some schools, is very badly taught; it is a mere succession of syllabic sounds. Such unintelligible, droning, monotonous, sounds are uttered, as bid defiance to any attempt to attach meanings to them. I lately visited two country schools, and I was really vexed to hear the children read in so ludicrous a style; they made noise enough, but were clearly unconscious of any meaning, or of the propriety of making others to understand.⁷⁶

Livesey by no means confined himself to child education. Indeed, as previously mentioned, he felt that educating the children without doing the same for the parents was not the answer to society's problems. He was particularly concerned about moral instruction and attacking parents' drinking habits. He established his first reading room for operatives in January 1827.⁷⁷ This was an answer to the three-fold increase in the stamp duty and higher taxes upon newspaper adverts. These measures had increased the price of a newspaper to about 7d a copy, intending to make them unattainable to the working class. A modest subscription of 3s 3d a quarter was charged for the reading room, but although it was a successful venture it was increasingly supported by the middle class and therefore did not fulfil his desire to promote inter-class co-operation. This happened to his other educational initiatives. He helped establish the Mechanics' Institute, (Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge), in Preston in 1828. He was elected treasurer, while Thomas

Batty Addison was appointed President. (Their co-operation is interesting as they later became strong opponents over the introduction of the New Poor Law in Preston, as will be seen later). It eventually boasted a library of over 8,000 books. However, although it was intended to bring the classes together, Livesey was again disappointed by the general lack of enthusiasm and perseverance of the poor. It was the upwardly mobile middle classes that took advantage of the opportunities offered, despite non-existent or very low entry fees.

By the mid-1830s, Livesey had ended his involvement with educational provision, although he continued to support the efforts of others. His last effort was the Working Men's Club at number 3, Lord Street, established with the help of the Rev. Macnamara, curate of the Parish Church. It was intended to have 'skittles, bagatelle and all kinds of innocent amusements, as well as classes for instruction'. This was a temperance as well as an educational initiative, but like his other ventures, it was unable to attract the working men from the public houses in appreciable numbers. With dismay, Livesey learned that availability does not imply use. It was difficult to impose change when its merits were not perceived, and most people who were used to the traditional forms of public house-based entertainment saw little reason to abandon them in favour of rational recreational pursuits.⁷⁸

In *Livesey's Progressionist*, referring to the poor attendance at adult education institutions, Livesey stated openly that the operatives 'had little taste for intellectual or elevating pursuits'. He scolded the rich for their love of ease and luxury and their neglect of the working class. He believed that if the barriers between the classes could be broken down, by the rich visiting the poor in their homes, then the working class could learn the benefits of reading and the importance of knowledge through observing the good example set to them. If convinced of the selfless nature of the visits, the people would be easily led

to copy industrious habits.⁷⁹ The rich were partly to blame, therefore, for the poor attendance of the working class at the Mechanics' Institutes.

The Philanthropist

In his article 'Hints to the Rich', Livesey showed he was not solely concerned about the working classes, although his comments were meant to eventually improve their condition.⁸⁰ He set his thoughts out clearly regarding the role of the wealthy in society, and it is worthwhile examining this in detail for it underpins his ideas on how to obtain harmonious inter-class relationships, which he considered to be the basis of a fair society. He recognised the great influence of those 'of superior rank and wealth', and the importance of their example to others. He showed his inherent conservatism by stating his object was not 'to request you to descend from that grade in society in which fortune has placed you; to make any change which would unsettle the proper distinctions in society'. His intention was the furtherance of their happiness 'and the happiness of the world'.⁸¹ He drew their attention to the necessity for dispassionate, deliberate and impartial reflection so that they could be led away from the 'things which are seen and temporal' towards 'the voice of reason and truth'. Crimes could have been prevented and fortunes saved if only reflection had been practised. Livesey drew attention to the common ties of all men, all created from 'the common clod', all dependent on each other as members of the same body. Indeed, he reminded them that they were more dependent on the common labourers than the reverse. He counselled them to defend the poor against any oppressor, in their own interest, for their own property was at risk if that of the poor was not respected. They should enlist as many as possible to raise the poor 'to a state of competency and rational enjoyment'. For this, a humble, sober, self-denying disposition should be cultivated where

women and wine 'or any sensual indulgence' should be avoided. In the face of certain opposition and persecution (from friends or even wife), the defence of the poor should not be abandoned. Having free time available, the rich were encouraged to participate in public office so the many schemes for improvement could be realised. Livesey decried the obsession with money that drove most rich people.

Livesey went on to write that magistrates and Members of Parliament were in privileged positions to help and should look less to the pride of office and pomp of names and more to an active participation in resolving social ills. Regarding intemperance, Livesey stressed that magistrates should inform the government of its evil, along with possible remedies. However, he despaired of improvements in these quarters until elections on merit by an extended suffrage were obtained. He defended the election of magistrates, too. Until then, MPs would enact laws in their own favour and tax the poor disproportionately. Likewise, corporate and clerical demands would continue to be overbearing.

Livesey then gave advice regarding the acquisition of wealth. There was nothing inherently wrong in being rich, if in the acquisition no harm was done to others. Caution was recommended in business transactions and the treatment of servants and workers. The latter should not be used as 'beasts of burden'. Covetousness, on the other hand, was a sin to avoid.

Livesey criticised the rich for the little they gave to the poor: 'Riches, like manure, do no good till they are distributed abroad'. He remonstrated against the paternalistic nature of the help that was given, characterising their actions as 'giving crusts to beggars, subscribing to hospitals and charities, or figuring on the lists of contributors to well-advertised schemes of benevolence'.⁸² In this way, he belittled the type of assistance that advertised the helper. He valued the aid that was given from the heart: 'It is charity and

philanthropy in the *essence* that I would plead for; not the mere forms and hired operations of the thing'. He strove for inter-class co-operation that was the fruit of a true understanding of the needs of each party, not the confirmation of a superiority/inferiority relationship. His aim was for the rich 'to free every working man from the stigma of being a pauper, to that state of independency and comfort which he certainly ought to enjoy'. By visiting the poor, the wealthy would be able to ascertain their real condition and help 'remove poverty, annihilate crime, dissipate misery and spread content, cheerfulness, social affection and happiness all round'. In his autobiography, Livesey elaborated on his ideas of philanthropy.

I often think how much friendship and good will might be diffused among the poor, if the rich would but only mix more with them, and contrive for their enjoyments. They little think of the store of gratitude that is lodged in breasts covered with rags, for anyone who becomes their benefactor.⁸³

It is interesting to note, in light of his antipathy towards paternalism, that Livesey called the attention of the rich to the gratitude available to them through their acts of charity. Many did not need reminding, for as stated in chapter 1.1, private philanthropy had increased dramatically from the 1820s and 1830s, signifying heightened middle class awareness of the problems posed by urban poverty and the consequences of not addressing them. For many givers, gratitude and deference were welcome by-products of philanthropic activity.

To illustrate Livesey's approach to charity, just three of his schemes for improving the life of the poor will be described. Commencing in 1845, Livesey organised an annual railway trip to the seaside for the poorest people of Preston, "the halt, the lame and the blind", the scavengers, the sweeps, and the workhouse people'.⁸⁴ The day trip, which was still held in 1885, was variously called "The Poor People's Trip", "Old Women's Trip" and the "Butter-milk Trip", the last name occasioned by the fact that for many years a truck of

butter-milk was taken along for refreshment. Numbers increased from an initial 2,000/2,500 participants to around 4,000. The scheme worked as follows: the railway company subsidised the train fare by charging only six pence for each seat. Livesey and his helpers sold packets of tickets for eight pence, (which included ‘a bun and milk *ad libitum*’), to ‘benevolent persons’ and employers, who distributed them among the poor. A committee was appointed to oversee the whole process, for demand always exceeded supply.

It used to be an interesting sight to me to see the trains start one after another, every carriage crammed with the poor people as “happy as princes.” It was the only “out” many of them got during the whole year, and they would talk of it many a long day.⁸⁵

After twenty years, the scheme seems to have been abused, and some charity tickets were bought by people who could afford the full fare. Hence, the railway company increased the fare to one shilling. The trips continued, without the refreshments, and were not seen as exclusively charity affairs.

Livesey observed the terrible living conditions of the Preston poor, and realised that ‘there is nothing, at a small cost, that is more comfortable for a poor family than a new chaff bed’. He became an unofficial chaff distributor and bed inspector after seeing;

[...] beds filled with straw or old chaff. The ticks dirty, and sometimes with holes in; the chaff wet, or running out. The floors not clean; the windows and fire-places closed; indeed, the air is so bad, that it is a wonder how they pass the night. In many cases, and generally where the parties have been “sold up”, there are no bedsteads, but they sleep on the floor. Five in a bed, I have often met with ? three in the usual position, and two youngsters at the feet.⁸⁶

This situation led Livesey on various occasions from 1826 onwards to buy new chaff for the mattresses, which was distributed to the needy. In 1858, Livesey set up an official “Bedding Charity”. Starting with the £11 19s 2d proceeds of a Magic Lantern show, courtesy of Mr. Isaac Whitwell of Kendal, ‘a truly benevolent man’, Livesey and

some friends successfully raised about £1,100 from local people to buy chaff. A number of volunteers made up and distributed mattresses all over town. A condition of receiving new chaff was that the bed tick had to be washed. Soap and lime were also supplied, as well as physical help for the elderly and infirm who were unable to clean their homes themselves. 'There was such a cleaning out on this occasion as had never been seen before, and thousands of clean beds were secured to the poor'.⁸⁷

The date of commencement of Livesey's third scheme is unknown. It involved the substitution of the 'bag system' of coal distribution for 'an entire new system'. Livesey's motivation was his observation that the hundredweight bags of coal bought by the poor often contained only 90 to 100 lbs. He set about providing 'honest weight' at a reduced price. He had cartloads of coal emptied at strategic points of the town, in the poor areas. The coal was weighed on the spot and then wheeled in a barrow to each house. Deliveries took place once a week and were paid for in cash at cost price. The plan worked 'most beneficially' and was later passed on to Livesey's friend, William Toulmin, who set up a number of retail coal yards in different parts of Preston. Livesey did not mention any opposition encountered from the existing coal suppliers, although they could not have taken kindly to being undercut in such a manner.

Livesey personally provided healthy alternatives to beer in Preston in the form of eight public drinking water fountains. He showed initiative and practicality on joining the ranks of the soup kitchen staff in Preston during periods of severe economic distress like the cotton famine of the 1860s. During this famine, from 1862 to May 1865, he organised The Preston Relief Fund, which distributed bread, soup, coal, clothes etc. to the value of more than £131,000. 'More than 5,141,418 tickets were given out for bread, soup, coals, clothing etc'.⁸⁸ During the week ending February 14 1862, upwards of 20,811 4 lb. loaves, 25,467 quarts of soup and 500 tons of coal were given to the unemployed operatives.

Livesey advocated self help as being the best way for the poor to achieve success. Although difficult to achieve, Livesey promoted 'self reliance' through total abstinence and thrift as being the best bulwark against poverty. Private charity was encouraged to 'fill in the gaps'. From the comments of Samuel Smiles in *Thrift*, he seems to have been successfully persuasive. Smiles declared that the inhabitants of Preston had shown a 'strong disposition' to save their earnings, especially since the great strike of 1842. They were unequalled in England and Wales (apart from Huddersfield), for their providence and thrift. In 1847, only one person in thirty deposited money in the Savings Bank. This had increased to one in five by 1896. In 1834, there was £165,000 in the Savings Bank, belonging to 5,942 depositors. In 1874, there was £472,000 belonging to 14,792 depositors, out of a total population of 85,428.⁸⁹

Livesey himself was a successful graduate of the nineteenth-century self help 'school' that was eventually identified in the 1850s with Samuel Smiles (1812-1904). Smiles wrote *Self Help* in 1859. He profiled tens of inventors, entrepreneurs, engineers and authors, mostly of humble origin, transmitting the message that industry, thrift and self-improvement were the best way to success, much better than a dependence on external help. He wrote;

The spirit of self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual; and, exhibited in the lives of many, it constitutes the true source of national vigour and strength. Help from without is often enfeebling but help from within invariably invigorates.⁹⁰

In *Thrift*, one of his sequels to *Self Help*, he says, 'The man who improves himself improves the world'.⁹¹ As with the Christian Socialist movement, Livesey's actions preceded a later, more formal and publicised campaign. 'Joseph Livesey wrote extensively

on thrift years before Smiles' wrote Pearce.⁹² Evidence of Livesey's early advocacy of the principles of self help, from the 1820s, can be seen in his pamphlets, letter linings and articles. Many of them advised people on financial expenditure, food, household items, thrift, punctuality, method and order. He wrote many letters to the local newspapers, 'generally condemnatory of some popular vice' before reaching eighteen years of age. At around the same age he published appeals and addresses in the form of posters and stuck them up on the walls of Preston.⁹³

A Friendly Address to the Poorer Classes, 1826, is a good, early example of Livesey's attempts to show the working classes their errors, with ways to avoid them. It was a twenty-four-page pamphlet which went through several editions and gave advice on cleanliness, economy, religion, sobriety, smoking, shopping, pledging, dealing with tallymen, and on domestic management in general. He adverted from the beginning that;

The work must begin with yourselves; for it is clear, that the most devoted attention of others, unless accompanied with your own efforts, will never be able to effect any important change in your circumstances.⁹⁴

It is interesting to note that before going on to give his practical advice, Livesey first referred to the 'appointments of Providence' and the advantages of poverty when weighed against the eternal glory it conferred on the sufferers.⁹⁵ Given his deep, sincere religious convictions at this time, his comments were probably genuine and not the product of cynical ulterior motives linked to the preservation of a status quo with which he had little in common. To substantiate this, his final comments ('though by far the most important') were made on religion. He warned that although poor, if living a sinful, unchristian life, then heaven would not be secured. One wonders how many of those in a situation of 'deep poverty', the special object of Livesey's attention, were willing or able to read the twenty-four-page pamphlet.

Livesey published his own version of a 'Housekeeper's Register', (pre 1853), priced one shilling. This resulted from his conviction that by not keeping proper expenditure records, housewives were unaware of how much they were spending, and therefore unable to decide in which areas they could save when the need arose. Sales were disappointing, much to Livesey's bewilderment, and where a register was kept 'the entries are generally irregular or neglected'.⁹⁶ His bewilderment is understandable, given the fact that he was an assiduous record-keeper himself. He kept ninety memorandum books where he made 'entries and remarks in connection with the various movements, agitations, subscriptions, societies, institutions &c., in which [he had] been engaged'.⁹⁷ He began one of his first ledgers in 1817, when twenty-one years old. Unfortunately, these memorandum books have now been lost.⁹⁸

The Politician

Victorian Preston possessed a social vitality and a popular culture strongly at odds with the poverty of its environment. This stimulus was to have an impact upon the proceedings of the Town Council and its committees, the trade unions, the town's churches, chapels and schools, through the efforts of a myriad of improvers and improvements.⁹⁹ In the early nineteenth century, Preston Borough, like others, was virtually self-electing and generally exercised power in its own interest.¹⁰⁰ Livesey was an early supporter of electoral reform, believing it would end sinecures and patronage. He was in the cross-party committee established to prepare for the first municipal elections under the new franchise, primarily to ensure they would be free of malpractice. He was elected as one of the first councillors for St. John's Wood at those elections. He sat on the watch, the public health, the recreation and the market committees. With the help of Thomas

Swindlehurst, he showed his affinity with the spirit of Bentham's Utilitarianism by selling the whole of the former corporation's wine stock for £226 3s 7½d, plus two japanned wine wagons, five dozen wine glasses, ten decanters, and a cork-screw ? 'the paraphernalia of corporate fuddling'. This was not without a zealous discussion of the pros and cons of the sale, however.¹⁰¹ Livesey argued that the wine etc. was of no use whatsoever. He would surely have argued at the time that the pursuit of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' was effected by destroying the cause of so much unhappiness. However, he later realised that he had only changed the form, not the love of drinking. This was evident from his inability to end the drinking of spiced wine before the November procession of the Mayor and Councillors to the Parish Church.¹⁰²

During his term in office Livesey was responsible for many municipal reforms, such as the widening of roads to alleviate traffic problems in the fast-growing town, the cleaning of streets and the regulating of markets. From 1831 he had also served on the Select Vestry, was on the Board of Guardians and the Preston Improvement Commission (Police Committee).

Livesey did not think himself fit for the Council chamber. He wrote, 'My notions of personal duty, and of dispatch, don't find much countenance in municipal bodies', and so did not stand for immediate re-election. He was 'unwise enough' to do so some years later, but was defeated, in his own words, by 'the mighty electioneering lever, cash and beer'.¹⁰³

Livesey and the New Poor Law

Livesey attempted to help the poor through his position as a Poor Law Guardian. His opposition to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was the longest of his non-temperance campaigns, lasting from 1837 to 1864. Preston Union, which included the

township of Preston and 27 surrounding country townships, was established in 1837. The election of the members of the first Board of Guardians took place on January 26 1837, Joseph Livesey being elected one of the representatives of Preston.¹⁰⁴ Although the Act was passed in 1834, the Poor Law Commissioners did not attempt to enforce it in the industrial north until January 1837. It was the arrival of the Assistant Commissioner Alfred Power in Preston that prompted Livesey's campaign against its enforcement.¹⁰⁵ He went on to block its implementation for twenty years.

Livesey's strong reactions can be seen in March 1842, when the Preston Poor Law Guardians received 'a monstrous order of separation' from the commissioners. The Christian religion alone was to be taught, and husband, wife and children housed separately, in the name of the order and comfort of the workhouse. Livesey voiced his protest;

I would sooner cut off my right hand than sign my name for any guardian who would impiously tear asunder what God has been pleased to join together.¹⁰⁶

Livesey stated that the poor law was based on two false propositions. Firstly, that there was plenty of work for able-bodied people. Secondly, that there was work for all industrious, able-bodied people at wages high enough to maintain their families. He felt that it was wrong to throw the able-bodied upon their own resources when work was scarce, and cruel to attempt to carry out the new act. He believed that the old Poor Law, with its provision for out-door relief in periods of economic slump, was apt for the needs of the industrial north.¹⁰⁷

His opposition centred on his belief that national, government-directed action should be aimed at the *causes* of poverty, not at its relief. He voiced common protests (see chapter 1.2);

[...] it would be a most expensive change, [...] the poor would be dealt with more harshly, and the liberty of the parishes sacrificed to a central authority.¹⁰⁸

His objections primarily concerned: the power of the unelected Poor Law Commissioners over elected ratepayers; the formation of large and ‘unwieldy’ unions; the refusal of out-door relief to the able-bodied; the separation of families in a workhouse; and the workhouse test and the Act’s provisions against illegitimacy.¹⁰⁹

He argued that the rise in poor rates that had largely triggered the review of the Poor Law was not so evident in the north of England. Therefore, the northerners should not be penalised for it. He called for a distinction to be made between the economic situation in the industrial north and that in the rural south. He argued that the increase in the poor rate witnessed in the struggling south, in some areas from 10s in 1800 to 18s in the pound in the 1830s, was exclusive to the south and caused by the poverty resultant from the Corn Law.¹¹⁰ In his free trade journal *The Struggle*, he claimed that the poor law was the landowners’ attempt to screen the odium from public gaze, and remove from their shoulders the burden of the poverty produced by the Corn Law. He stated that;

The poor law [is] a burlesque upon the pretended religious character of the country. When commissioners tell us of the reduction of the poor tax, they should also give us a return of the increase of stealing, starving and begging.¹¹¹

He appealed for repeal of the Corn Law, which would create more jobs, instead of the introduction of ferocious means of punishing those who suffered from its effects. In a later issue of *The Struggle* he gave guidance to the poor on applying for parish relief, setting out the new rules along with their rights.¹¹²

The people of Preston supported his opposition to the new law. This can be seen by the vote taken after three days of public debate with James Acland, on May 14 - 16 1838.

The latter was an itinerant, government-backed spokesman for the new law. Livesey recalled the event later.

Every corner [of the theatre] was crammed. I had about the cleverest antagonist that could have been selected; but the feeling of the people was against him, [...] I carried the audience with me, and at the close, upon the question being put to the vote, Mr. A. had from 20 to 30 hands, all the rest being raised for me, followed by an extraordinary burst of feeling in my favour, and against the new Poor Law.¹¹³

Soon after this public debate, Livesey published the main points of his argument in his own paper *Livesey's Moral Reformer*.¹¹⁴

His battle was not only fought on the debating floor and in the press, however. The boardroom also witnessed a struggle of wills that lasted for five years, namely against T. B. Addison, (recorder of Preston, county magistrate and chairman and *ex officio* member of the board who strongly favoured the New Poor Law). The two men were 'utterly at variance' concerning treatment of the poor. On November 15 1864, the motion was passed to supplant four of the five workhouses in the union by one general establishment. Livesey had retired from the Board of Guardians in 1843, although he kept up his opposition to a new union workhouse through his paper the *Preston Guardian*. The motion was carried through resort to the *ex officio* votes of the Board (namely the county magistrates within the districts comprising the union, an imposition Livesey had always rejected because of their lack of accountability). Of the elected Guardians, seventeen voted for the measure and nineteen against. Preston's Union Workhouse was opened on December 29 1868, with a capacity for 1,500 paupers. The total amount of loans for the workhouse and subsequent additional buildings up to 1870 was £87,761. This had increased to £103,358 by 1883.¹¹⁵

It is interesting to note that Livesey did business with the Preston workhouses. Although there is no mention of this in his autobiography, Christine Carroll states that during the December quarter of 1847, Joseph Livesey received £14 9s 11d for cheese

supplied to the workhouse. He was awarded the contract to supply Preston, The House of Recovery, Walton, Woodplumpton, Penwortham and Ribchester workhouses in that year. This was renewed in 1848. Carroll notes that Livesey's son John was elected to the Board of Guardians in 1848, and therefore had influence over the awarding of contracts to local businessmen.¹¹⁶ Carroll casts doubt on the reasons for Livesey's anti-union stance, but in fairness to him it must be said that he never repudiated workhouses *as such*, only their transformation into 'bastilles' through the Poor Law Amendment Act.

Elections

Livesey was a frequent contributor to radical causes. His temperance and reform activities coincided when he vehemently denounced the manipulation of the (restricted) electorate by the privileged during a general election.

[...] treating is bribery [...]. It is truly an awful reflection that so important a business as selecting persons to make our laws and manage our national concerns cannot be effected without drunkenness, violence, bribery, and corruption. [...] Certainly it is a small honour to be floated into the House of Commons on the beer barrel!¹¹⁷

Livesey quoted Dobson's *History of the Elections of Preston*, regarding the bills of "Horrocks and Hornby" for three elections held in 1812, 1818 and 1820. Their expenses in 1812 for polling 1,379 votes were £5,671 17s 6d. Six public house bills amounted to £3,807 13s 7d. In 1818 their public house bills came to £4,111 4s 7d. In 1820 they were £8,203 19s 4d. 'It will be seen that the publicans at that period, as at present, came in for the lion's share of the prey'.¹¹⁸ He believed that electoral honesty should be taught, inculcated from the pulpit and the press until principle and not profit became the sole motive of action. He was most exasperated when people complained of government actions but did not see that they were responsible for its election when they sold their

votes. A change of policy could only be effected by changing the legislators, and this was in the hands of the electors. Thus, he advocated forceful electioneering in order to teach the electorate that they were independent voters. If electoral dishonesty were wiped out, then more would join the fight for an extended suffrage.¹¹⁹ Conscious that only the legislators of the country could repeal the Corn Laws, he campaigned vigorously for the electorate to realise their power, be independent, and through their votes for free traders bring about the repeal. He repeatedly underlined the power of the vote, especially in *The Struggle*.¹²⁰

Livesey underestimated the fact that treating was both expected and desired by most electors, who in 1866 were estimated to be only 1,056,659 of 5,373,033, 20% of the adult male population of England and Wales. The upper classes were only providing what was required of them. It was their form of ‘canvassing’. He was right to insist on a change of mentality in this respect, for only in this way could the working class truly exert itself through the ballot box. However, his despair is evident in 1868, after the passing of the Second Reform Act. By November he was much more sceptical about the electoral reliability of the working classes. His great disappointment over the sums spent, crimes committed and destruction of peace and friendships almost made him doubt whether ‘the representative system, after all, is the best for the government of a country’.¹²¹

Interestingly, Livesey showed himself to be adept at manipulating the election system immediately before the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, although this can in no way be equated with the selling of votes. He was part of the Anti-Corn Law League movement for increasing freeholds, so as to qualify free trade voters in the counties.¹²² In 1847-8, he established a freehold land society, of which he was one of several trustees.¹²³

I assisted to purchase £17,600 worth of property for freeholds in Preston, for which Mr. Ashcroft was agent, and with purchases made by others, it is probable that £20,000 worth of property was obtained in this borough for making freehold votes. [...] I purchased freeholds for myself and sons in

North and South Lancashire, and in North Cheshire, and I have a freehold vote for five different counties and divisions.¹²⁴

He confessed that ‘*money power*’ [more than arguments] confounded the protectionists, and compelled them at last to relinquish the law for crippling trade and making food dear’.¹²⁵

Livesey described himself as ‘no political agitator’.¹²⁶ However, he expressed his belief in universal male suffrage at a public meeting on March 29 1831. He supported the measure proposed by the Whigs, believing it would prevent revolution. He felt strongly about what he saw as extremely unfair, class legislation, manifest in various guises, and supported universal male suffrage as a means of obtaining ‘a fair, full and free representation of the people’. He publicised Joseph Sturge’s Declaration and Memorial to the queen in favour of such representation.

Most readily have I signed this Declaration, and will be happy in following its progress throughout the country. From the present constitution of the House of Commons no hope remains, and all classes except the bread mongers are beginning to feel the same.¹²⁷

He saw electoral reform as a means to an end ? the disestablishment of the church, free trade and the abolition of monopolies, and he bitterly criticised the ‘tyrannical oligarchy’ from the House of Lords when they defeated the Reform Bill in 1832.¹²⁸ He rejoiced over the 1832 defeat of the Tories. ‘They can never rally again; the sun of toryism is set for ever. And who can help exulting?’ He accused them of everything wicked and oppressive; war and bloodshed, slavery and pamperism, debt and taxation, misery and crime, ‘and the completest prostration of holy things to unholy purposes’.¹²⁹ Livesey was disappointed that the Reform Act did not lead to the disestablishment of the Church of England. However, he continued to campaign for it, especially in *The Struggle* and *The Moral Reformer*.

He showed his political astuteness immediately after the passing of the First Reform Act by declaring that the inspiration of the people must pass into the government, or it would quickly lose its popularity. He warned against 'a patchwork of reforms', arguing for a broad sweep led by ministers who were sincere in their reforming efforts. He lamented the 'absurdity' of the retention of the £300-a-year land qualification retained on Members of Parliament, for it limited the electors' choice of candidate. A £300-a-year industrialist was barred from running, and so the town electors faced the dilemma of either choosing someone local but outside their circle to represent them, or of looking much further afield for a representative.¹³⁰

The Corn Laws

Livesey had believed that the Reform Act would lead to the repeal of the Corn Laws, so it was only in 1840 that he began to devote time to this cause. His subsequent campaign led him into a detailed analysis of contemporary economics and involved him in the mainstream of Liberal economic and social policy. He considered, like many others, that as the importation of wheat was dependent on its internal market price, which was fixed 'unnecessarily high' by the government, the British wheat producers benefited financially at the expense of the consumers, who had their access to cheap wheat imports restricted. This situation affected the poor most of all, for they depended on bread as a staple of their diet. On the other hand, it favoured the large landowners that were also responsible for fixing the price of wheat in their capacity as members of parliament.¹³¹ He complained at the way the Bill was passed.

The indecent haste with which the bill was passed was calculated to arouse the opposition of the people as much as the measure itself. If we want a proof of the wantonness of class legislation, of the regardlessness of the

rights of the people, and of the sacrifice, even of common decency at the shrine of selfishness, we find it in the history of the passing of the Corn Bill. [It] was passed with an almost unexampled precipitancy [...] it was ten days only in the Commons; eight days in the Lords; and, three days after, this monstrous enactment became law by a dash of the Royal pen!¹³²

He placed the prime cause of the country's distress as the Corn Law, (intemperance being among the foremost of the secondary causes).¹³³ Livesey claimed to have been writing 'strong articles [...] to expose the cruel tendency of the Corn Laws' ten years before the Anti-Corn Law League was active.¹³⁴ Indeed, in recognition of his services, he was made honorary secretary to the Preston branch of the Anti-Corn Law League on its establishment. An extract from an article by Livesey that appeared in the March 1831 issue of *The Moral Reformer* reveals his attitude.

WEAVERS' WAGES, AND CORN LAWS. ? To me it is quite clear, after the opening of the budget, that, in the present circumstances of the country, to expect an efficient relief for the poor and labouring classes from a reduction of taxes merely, would be the greatest delusion. What relief is there offered to the poor weaver? About a penny a week in candles! Is this likely to conciliate the country? [...] The curse of the country is the Corn Law, and till that is repealed, persons may drag their weary limbs about, may beset the dispensary for physic, crowd the workhouse to excess, may sink beneath their sufferings, and die from hunger; but there will be no relief. [...] Oh! how hard, that honest and industrious men should hunger, while God gives bread enough and to spare!¹³⁵

Carter described him as 'a stalwart in the northern agitation' against the Corn Laws.¹³⁶ One example of this is the 1842 Preston Petition for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law, agitated by Livesey and signed by 16,800 men, and the memorial to the queen signed by 9,600 women. In *The Struggle*, he invited every householder to call into his offices to pick up a copy of a petition, to be signed by family and domestics and forwarded to the Member of Parliament.¹³⁷ The aim was to get 5 million copies onto the table of the House of Commons. He appealed for unity of purpose, for example co-operation with the Chartists, but always opposed any incitement to violence. The disruptive tactics of a section of the Chartists later alienated Livesey, leading him to denounce their

cause as unobtainable. The invasion of an anti-Corn Law meeting being held in the theatre, Preston, in December 1842, by a Chartist splinter group led by a man named Dixon, and the subsequent confusion, served to reinforce this opinion.¹³⁸

Livesey financed and ran 'a little missionary for free trade' called *The Struggle* from December 1841 – June 1846, the week of the signing of the Corn Law Repeal Bill. This was a weekly, illustrated halfpenny journal concerned with free trade, Corn Law repeal, cheap bread, 'and collateral subjects'. Richard Cobden and John Bright described it as 'very helpful'.¹³⁹ It was initially sold in the north, only being retailed in London from the eighteenth issue. Livesey claimed that by the end of its second year, 1,100,000 copies had been issued. He estimated the overall number of copies issued at 2,820,000.¹⁴⁰ He regarded *The Struggle* as his 'greatest service' to the cause, and was proud of its 'pithy articles' and interesting engravings 'after the fashion of *Punch*'. Its slight weight allowed it to be posted cheaply, and it was circulated extensively in the rural districts, reaching a 15,000 circulation in one week. The illustrations were the work of Messrs. Harvey and Aspland, of Liverpool, and were 'well adapted to the popular mind'. Many of them were engraved by Livesey's son Howard. Livesey wrote most of the articles himself, despite his poor health at that time. He was so near to exhaustion when writing the final issue that he could not 'make an effort to get an engraver', and used the illustrations from the previous issue, number 234.¹⁴¹

The Struggle did not aim at the poorest section of society, but rather the tradesman, agricultural labourer, farmer, landlord, manufacturer and so forth. These were the people Livesey believed capable of pressurising the government into changing its policies. The arguments put forward in favour of free trade and Corn Law repeal in the first issue of December 1841 show the straightforward style adopted to suit his readers. There is a clarity of argument that aims to convince through its simplicity. No room is left for doubt.

In 'What shall we gain by free trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws?' it was stated that free trade would make food a third cheaper, and imports would rise leading to 'abundance in the land' for all. There would be a revival in foreign trade. The exchange of goods would lead to increased employment and high wages. Good foreign trade would lead to better domestic trade, an increase in retail as people had more money to spend. Corn Law repeal would lead to a decrease in the poor rate. Workhouse food would be a third cheaper, there would be fewer outdoor paupers, and able-bodied men would be able to rely on their own resources. Access would be gained to markets world wide, leaving the worker the choice of where to sell his labour and buy his food. (At the time, there was no option but to buy dear, sell cheap, and let the landowners reap the benefit of the restriction). Workers would be better able to compete against machinery. Livesey pointed out that the 'iron man's meat and drink' were untaxed, (coal and water), but the man of flesh and blood paid 40% tax on his. The British artisan could better compete with his foreign counterpart if there were free trade and no Corn Laws, instead of being hampered by higher food taxes. Free trade in corn would stop the fluctuations in the currency that occurred when vast quantities of gold were used to buy corn in an emergency. Corn would be paid for in manufactured goods, leaving the gold to help manufacturers increase their trade. The destruction of the land monopoly would result, putting the manufacturing interest on an equal footing with agriculture. The landowners would be compelled to reduce the price of food and give a fair market price for manufactured goods. There would be real prosperity for the farmers, for high prices meant high rents leading to their ruin. Lower rents and taxes meant cheaper food. Their sons would be able to go into trade instead of 'staying on the sod' and competing with each other. The agricultural labourer would eat meat and work some land for himself. If the labour supply was excessive, instead of being tied to the land and depressing wages he could go into manufacturing. The land would be free from

the bad influence of monopoly. There would be fewer absentee landlords for more owners would live on the land and improve it, being deprived of the high rents on which they lived at the time. Forced emigration, 'a cold-hearted scheme for perpetuating injustice', would not be necessary for there would be plenty of work and food after repeal. Free trade was said to be the greatest guarantee of world peace. Retaliation followed policies of restriction whereas free trade would lead to the abolition/modification of tariffs and an end to war and bloodshed.

In a word, the opening of our ports for all kinds of foreign food would be like two harvests in the year, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, removing poverty, driving away disease and premature death. It would give life and energy to the nation, now tottering on the verge of ruin. [?] Drooping sick clubs, deserted schools, and defunct institutions would again revive, and a loyal attachment to the land of our birth would succeed to the strong feeling of resentment and disaffection now extensively cherished in the breasts of an impoverished and injured people.¹⁴²

The high land tax, pretext for keeping the Corn Law, was shown by Livesey to be inferior to taxes on consumer goods. He estimated the land tax at £1,200,000, a thirtieth of the nation's taxes. In addition, in comparison with Italy, France, Prussia and Austria, the English landowners had little to complain about, for these countries contributed fifty percent to their nation's revenue.¹⁴³

Livesey introduced intemperance into many issues of *The Struggle*, going so far as to blame the people themselves for the non-repeal of the Corn Law. His reasoning was that the government received fifteen million pounds a year in revenue from intoxicating liquors. If the people were to abstain, the Prime Minister would quickly be put under a lot of pressure to repeal.¹⁴⁴

Livesey's Writing

Livesey sought to teach through his writing, and although his style is pompous by today's standards, he nevertheless possessed a 'racy, vigorous prose, with no more grammatical errors than are found in Dickens'.¹⁴⁵ He had the ability to digest difficult information and reproduce it in a homely style (as seen in the extracts from *The Struggle*, for example). Livesey's printing business was an essential part of his life, affording him an outlet for his writing. It was begun in 1832. He had written various posters, pamphlets, handbills and 'letter linings', however, before establishing his own printing plant. The latter contained 'advice, admonitions or remarks on some important point of duty'. They were printed on a single sheet of 'good' paper and designed to fit into a letter without being folded. They could be forwarded on many times, thus increasing the target audience considerably. They were sold at 5s per 1,000, or 70 sent free for nine postage stamps. The headings included: 'For the Parlour Table', 'Remember the Poor', and 'Pay your Debts'.¹⁴⁶

The pamphlets usually concerned temperance and were addressed to specific groups; 'Tipplers, Drunkards, and Backsliders', 'Young Women' or 'Bakers, Butchers, Grocers, Fruiterers, Drapers, Ironmongers, Cabinet Makers, Upholsterers, Watchmakers, Booksellers &c. of Preston'. They were written throughout his lifetime. Livesey began using his own press with *The Moral reformer and Protester against the Vices, Abuses, and Corruptions of the Age* (Jan. 1831 ? July 1833, 32pp). Priced 6d, the monthly publication was a 'statement of the immorality and irreligion of the age, and an attempt to point out the causes and remedies'.¹⁴⁷ The second and third yearly volumes of *The Moral Reformer and Protester* (1832 and 1833) were the first publications to advocate the teetotal doctrine. He also wrote and published the first teetotal almanac, and selected the Preston book of

‘melodies’. He claimed to have supplied the whole country with teetotal tracts written by himself or reprinted from other sources, (including American), immediately after 1832.¹⁴⁸

After *The Moral Reformer and Protester* came *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, (January 1834 ? 1837, 8pp), a monthly periodical dedicated exclusively to the temperance cause. It was the foundation of the Livesey family’s prosperous printing business, until sold in 1837 to continue as the *Temperance Advocate*, published in London. It was arduously first produced on a hand press, and sold for one penny. Livesey wrote and edited most of the articles himself, and avoided using advertisements. After giving this up in 1837 because of ill health he published *Livesey’s Moral Reformer* from 1838 to 1839, (this took up where he had left off with the first series). Originally published weekly, after March 1838 it became a monthly and doubled in size. It had to close in February 1839 because Livesey experienced a bout of rheumatic fever.

Several disagreements with the proprietor of the Preston *Chronicle*, Isaac Wilcockson, including the misrepresentation of events during the Livesey/Acland public debate on the New Poor Law and the lack of support for Corn Law repeal, led Livesey to establish his own paper, *The Guardian*.¹⁴⁹ The weekly *Preston Guardian and Lancashire Advertiser* was printed and published by Livesey from February 10 1844, after he had recovered from the aforementioned illness. Its political leanings were Radical. In the first issue, *The Guardian’s* principles were expounded. These were free trade, civil and religious liberty, the rights of industry and the prosperity of agriculture, repeal of the Corn Laws and abolition of all similar monopolies, the repeal of the new Poor Law, support for franchise extension and utilitarian principles in general.¹⁵⁰ The newspaper included local advertisements, information on agricultural matters, market, parliamentary, foreign and local news. Livesey’s son John, already acquainted with the printing business, helped him to set up the new local paper and was editor for some years. The success of the paper was

credited largely to him. Another son, William, was sub-editor, occasional writer of leading articles, and manager of the business department for many years until ill health forced him to relinquish his tasks. Livesey's other sons, Franklin and Howard, also gave assistance to the paper. Livesey wrote occasional leading articles on local matters and was the overall superintendent, a job that entailed much 'labour and anxiety'.¹⁵¹ The *Preston Guardian* was sold on Livesey's retirement in 1859 to George Toulmin.

In January 1853, Livesey started another monthly periodical, *Livesey's Progressionist*. This was a fourteen-page journal that cost one penny. As the name implies, it dealt with general progression, such as that concerning education, morals, domestic economy, religion and 'social arrangements'. However, its primary aim was to advocate the temperance cause, for without sobriety and freedom from the shackles of the public house, progress in other areas was believed to be impossible. Unlike his earlier *Temperance Advocate*, *Livesey's Progressionist* addressed the problems of a more mature temperance movement. He concentrated on the negative aspects of the movement, like the complacency in spreading the message to the population (over-reliance on paid missionaries), and the eagerness to take unreliable pledges offered on the spur of the moment.¹⁵² Ill health once again plagued him, however, and he was obliged to pass control on to a London publisher after 'six or seven issues', when it became *The Teetotal Progressionist*.

Livesey's monthly journal *The Staunch Teetotaler* (January 1867 ? December 1868) also addressed the problems of a more mature temperance movement, and Livesey's prefatory remarks in the first issue illustrate well his concern for the direction the movement was taking.

[...] notwithstanding the glowing reports published by our societies, I cannot shut my eyes to the great amount of languor which many of them

exhibit. I shall print at least 10,000 copies monthly, and if they are not sold they shall be distributed gratuitously.¹⁵³

In the February 1867 issue, he referred to his wish to arouse the ‘apathetic and lukewarm teetotalers’ without resort to ‘patronage, agency or legislation’.

Livesey also wrote addresses throughout his lifetime for both the general public and for specific sub-groups, for example, *A friendly address to the drinkers and non-drinkers*, *An address to the bakers, butchers, grocers, fruiterers of Preston*, and *Address to young females*. Saturday night drinkers, teachers, religious ministers and medical men were exhorted to practise teetotalism. He also wrote specific addresses at Christmas or New Year from the late 1850s up to his death in 1884. The Appeals, written to his fellow Prestonians, were distributed free of charge to ‘every house in Preston’. Livesey used the festive occasion as an opportunity to greet the people and offer them advice. Usually four pages long, the addresses generally criticised the prevalence of drinking places and customs, censured the clergy, magistrates, councillors and others in authority for their bad example, inefficiency and apathy regarding temperance, deplored the state of the nation and admonished the better off for their bad habits and lack of zeal in helping their neighbours. Teetotalism was proffered as the only solution to the ills of society, for once a sober society had been achieved other improving agencies had a chance of success (schools, reformatories, preaching rooms, societies and so forth). One wonders at his persistence, for year after year a similar disgraceful situation is described. Thus, in *A New Year’s Appeal*, 1866, he laments that: ‘there is a general unwillingness to face the question, or to enter earnestly into any active scheme for making the town sober’. The following year, in *New Year’s Present*, he writes: ‘Another year has run its course, and I fear Preston, with all its advantages, has improved little during that period’. More desperately, in 1869, he commented on the failures of the preceding year.

No words can describe a hundredth part of the sufferings of all classes which have taken place in our town, through the influence of intoxicating drinks.

Finally, in 1880 he began his Address with 'We are still a drunken country'.

Labour Problems

Livesey was confronted daily by the degrading living and working conditions in the manufacturing town of Preston. His own enquiries showed that in 1832 there were only two public conveniences 'in a disgusting, dilapidated state', serving the inhabitants of twenty-two houses in Holding's Square, one for the seventeen houses in Dale Street, and none for the eleven houses in Bengal Square, for example.¹⁵⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that Livesey preferred the rural to the urban life. However, he recognised that the future lay with manufacturing and any debate over the merits of either life style was purely academic. The clock could not be turned back, and the only course of action was one of improving the lot of the workers.

He considered that great improvements in conditions had been made since the beginning of the century, and by way of illustration, he described his childhood memories of the miserable local cotton factory hands, 'Watson's Apprentices', as they attended Walton Church on Sundays in 1801.

[...] a number of poor, squalid, deformed beings, the most pitiful objects, I think, I ever beheld. They were brought down from the hospitals in London, at a very early age, and apprenticed to a system to which nothing but West India slavery could bear any analogy.¹⁵⁵

Lord Shaftesbury and others were making the same analogy in the 1830s and 1840s. Livesey, whilst not thinking well of factory life, wrote of the improved condition of factory hands in 1833 relative to 1801, thanks to restrictive laws and the influence of

public opinion. The girls could 'sustain the heat and employment of the factory much better than the boys', being 'well clothed' and kept, and often earning wages 'equal to many men'. Despite the improvements, he knew all was not well and was not afraid to publicly demand change. He chaired/attended various meetings at Preston with Richard Oastler present, for example on April 15 1844 at the Temperance Hall.

His support of the Factory Movement, and particularly the Ten Hours Bill, was unconditional. He underlined the necessity of setting up a 'power to enforce it, and get information on mills which don't'. Informants needed to be protected from retaliation.¹⁵⁶ He described in *The Moral Reformer* the harsh working conditions of the young factory hands and concluded 'every feeling of commiseration and humanity must lead us to exert ourselves [?] to secure the passing of the bill'. By addressing the common objections to the Ten Hours Bill he demonstrated his knowledge of the subject and his persuasiveness in reply. Thus, he argued that not *all* masters objected to the bill; as it applied to the whole industry, it put all spinners on an equal competitive footing; if foreign competition gained an advantage then this should be countered by taking the tax off the raw material; wages would not fall with shorter hours, but employment would increase.¹⁵⁷

Livesey addressed the fear that profits would be adversely affected by a reduction in the hours of labour from two standpoints. In economic terms, he argued that as the low wages of children was the result of an over-supply of labour, if demand for yarn stayed constant after working hours were cut, demand for labour would rise which would eventually counteract the decrease in wages resulting from a cut in hours. Employment would rise six-fold. From a moral stand, he argued that even if profits were affected, the health, enjoyment and morals of those we should protect should not suffer: 'Will the God of the Mammonites be satisfied with no sacrifice but the immolation of defenceless children?'¹⁵⁸

Livesey believed that a simple legislative act would not resolve all the problems of the factory hands. The Ten Hours Bill was not a panacea for factory evils, but rather part of the solution. Even with the Act, they would still be 'in the hands of the mill owners'. He argued for their attaining true independence, with real bargaining power. Free trade and an end to the monopoly of food production would provide this.¹⁵⁹ He also argued for a change in the general character of society, along with the introduction of attractive alternative recreation pursuits, otherwise short time would mean longer hours in the pub, with its attendant evils.

Although he recognised that some iniquities of factory life 'would remain irremediable', a 'great change' could be effected if the workers were taught temperance, economy, and domestic management, and received instruction and comfort from religious teachers. In this way a 'mass of ignorance and vice would be removed and comparative happiness and contentment restored to this portion of the working class'. Legislation alone could not resolve a problem that needed 'the heart-cheering and soul-satisfying lessons of the religion of Jesus'.¹⁶⁰

Livesey fought for factory reform but did not agree with trade unions.¹⁶¹ He rejected them as a vehicle of class progress and believed that they, too, tended towards monopoly. The only justification for them was in self-defence, when faced with a union of masters formed to keep wages down, impose unreasonable regulations, or interfere in any way with the labourers or labour market. Whilst not questioning the motives of the trade unionists, nor denying that many had benefited from them, Livesey claimed that others had been injured and the nation as a whole had sustained a considerable loss because of them. He disagreed with their methods, especially the restriction on numbers and standardisation of wages. This often drove capital away, limited production or increased the price of products, discouraged invention and improvements and generally dampened the spirit of

enterprise. When defending machinery, he criticised the unions for restricting labour mobility.¹⁶² Union rules prevented a man displaced by machinery from obtaining certain jobs, leaving him no alternative but to remain idle or take a low job not conditioned by trade union rules. Livesey claimed that machinery was blamed for the withering of some industries, when the real blame lay with union protection. The removal of this would lead to revival and additional employment. He set great store by freedom of choice, preferring that the individual should maintain power over his own labour without having to resort to a third party, whether that be co-workers or employer. Arguing for a more equitable distribution of the wealth in society through fairer legislation, he wished to end the quarrelling between masters and men, and the 'combining together to ruin each other's interest', it being injurious to the country as well as the parties involved.

Let workmen stand up for their rights, and strive to keep up their wages in every possible way not inimical to their own interest and the peace of society: but never let them endanger the safe investment of capital. With this we may look for employment and adequate wages: without it, desolation and ruin.¹⁶³

He exposed 'fallacious' economic arguments that led the disgruntled workers into considering 'a general convulsion' as their only remedy. Addressing the capital/labour argument, he explained that free from monopolies and combinations 'capital creates labour, and supports labour, labour in return increases capital, and they mutually and reciprocally act for each other's advantage'. The oppressor of both masters and men was the Corn Law.¹⁶⁴ Livesey's experience of his own business ventures was probably decisive in his analysis of the importance of capital. Not surprisingly, he frequently had to defend himself against charges of being in the pocket of the employers, particularly when he withheld his support from the trade unions during the strikes and lock-outs of 1833, 1842 and 1853-4.¹⁶⁵

Livesey did not consider labour of superior importance in the production of the nation's wealth, as many were claiming in the 1830s. In 1833, in the debate over the power of labour, Livesey strove to show that although his class loyalties remained with the workers, for him, labour, capital and intelligence were all inter-dependent. The sources of wealth were nature, ingenuity, labour and capital. Nature supplied the raw materials for wealth, but for the needs of a civilised society the raw materials required the application of intelligence, labour and capital to produce enough comforts for the population, for export and for accumulating capital. No element could stand alone, and all served society. Livesey criticised the 'race of writers who delight in unsettling society by magnifying labour exclusively, and depreciating every other profession' in defiance of philosophy or experience. For Livesey, a labourer was not only someone who used muscular activity to 'produce' something, but encompassed a variety of professions from porter and surgeon to bookkeeper. He conceded that 'the most skilful and ingenious usually get the best wages, and that the endowments of the mind are always considered more valuable than mere physical power'.¹⁶⁶

Livesey made two proposals in 1830 concerning the laws of wages and labour.¹⁶⁷ His law of wages stated that a minimum wage, founded on a calculation of the price of provisions, ought to be fixed, below which no man should be paid. This addressed the problem of the poverty of workers in employment. His labour law was meant to deal with unemployed able-bodied people. He thought that everyone should be obliged, if required, to employ a certain number of people, or find employment for them, according to the extent of his property. Wages would not be below the fixed minimum. This would be compensation for the loss sustained by many through the introduction of machinery. Unlike the Speenhamland system, wages would be subsidised by the individual and not the parish. Livesey saw the scheme as mobilising 'dormant property', preventing the upper

classes importing luxury goods or travelling abroad. He believed the scheme would slow migration from the country to the towns, assist improvements in agriculture and generally ensure less 'depravity' amongst the new urban working class. Livesey hoped the scheme would restore social harmony, with the more affluent taking responsibility for the distressed. With the able-bodied in work and receiving decent wages, the Poor Law could go back to its original function of relieving the impotent poor.

After 1850 his view of social progress, based on individual self-improvement, began to appear increasingly marginal to contemporary labour politics, for working class emancipation and power was seen in combination and in collective agreements.

Livesey had little time for Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, and after much thought he dismissed his co-operative communities too. He believed them unworkable owing mainly to the difficulty in arriving at a consensus when numerous people were involved. He had little faith in the people's ability to set self interest aside and 'act in peace and harmony', in the interests of a common goal, and rejected any form of coercion directed at obtaining this goal. 'Character' could not be manufactured, as Owen had claimed in an interview in *The Moral Reformer*.¹⁶⁸ Livesey's experiences on the committees of several new institutions convinced him of this. He also believed that communal property was both unnatural and impracticable. The internal and external trade of the country depended on large amounts of capital. The best way to ensure the generation of wealth was to keep this capital under the control of a 'superior mind', with independent control.¹⁶⁹

Until his thirty-seventh year, Joseph Livesey was an occasional drinker. However, he concluded in 1831 that drink brought no good. He later described a watershed in his life. At McKie's, Lune Street, Preston, he had drunk a whiskey with water to close a deal, the payment of a debt of £2,000 to the creditors of a bankrupt textile factory where he had been a sleeping partner since 1827. This cost him all his savings.¹⁷⁰ He described in his *Reminiscences of Early Teetotalism* what happened after the whisky.

I felt very queer as I went home; retired to bed very unwell, and next morning my mind was made up, and I solemnly vowed that I would never take any kind of intoxicating liquor again, [...]. I had a large family of boys, and this resolution was come to, I believe, more on their account, than from any knowledge I had of the injurious properties of the liquor.¹⁷¹

This type of experience was not uncommon. Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help* recalled the similar experience of Hugh Miller, and concluded that, 'It is such decisions as this that form the turning-point in a man's life, and furnish the foundation of his future character'.¹⁷² Livesey's resort to total abstinence was also influenced, however, by his reading of Benjamin Franklin's work. He was so impressed by what he read that he took Franklin as a mentor, published his ideas and attributed the underlying idea of his famous *Malt Liquor Lecture* to him ? that there was 'more food in a pennyworth of bread than in a gallon of ale'. Whilst working as a young journeyman printer in London, in 1725, Franklin had stopped drinking beer and tried to persuade his colleagues to do likewise. His explanations of the non-fortifying properties of beer were ignored, however. The idea of beer as a provider of strength was too deeply embedded in the common consciousness to be dismissed without 'proof'. Livesey's affinity with Franklin was such that Dr. Frederic Lees called him 'a well known local Franklin', [...] who, having risen by self-denial,

culture and industry, from the working classes, sought to extend to them the blessings of education, and of social and moral reform'.¹⁷³

Livesey's involvement in the formation of the first temperance society in Preston has already been recounted, likewise, his role in the formation of the first total abstinence society in the same town (chapter 3). It must be pointed out that he had a very compassionate view of the drunkard, seeing him as a victim of circumstance rather than a wilfully evil person. In his tract *More Pity for the Drinkers*, this is clearly shown. He blamed 'the neglect of their parents and teachers on the one hand, and [?] the enticements of the so-called moderate drinkers on the other' for their pitiable state and criticised those who scoffed at or simply punished the drunkard. His approach to alcohol eradication was so-called 'Moral Suasion', which centred on changing the consumer's habits through education with the aid of well-directed propaganda. He relied on will power to overcome addiction, and made no allowance for the physical problems deprivation entailed: 'No one forces you to drink; it is your own act, your own fault, your own sin: you can give it up if you will'.¹⁷⁴ He believed that successive legislative action would help achieve this end, but changing public opinion was the key to success, not prohibitive legislation. In *Free and Friendly Remarks upon the Permissive Bill, Temperance Legislation, and the Alliance* he wrote;

Public opinion [...] and public practise too, must be greatly changed before any prohibitory legislative action can succeed. What is there then but teetotal doctrine that can enlighten public opinion?¹⁷⁵

He had written his first pamphlet against drunkenness in 1824, *The Besetting Sin; or, A Brief Attempt to state the Prevalency, causes, and effects of the Sin of Drunkenness*. The title is illustrative of the general moralistic tone of the work. This would later change to an emphasis on the evils of drink itself. At this time, however, he had not made the leap

from moderation to total abstinence, and so said nothing against its dangerous tendencies in small quantities, and only spoke against wine and spirits.

Between 1824 and 1832, Livesey modified his position on moderate drinking, becoming a staunch opponent of it. He played an active role in the intense pledge battle fought in the Preston Temperance Society, as explained in chapter three. An analysis of just one of the dozens of tracts he wrote against moderate drinking will suffice to illustrate his opinion on the subject, one he never changed throughout his lifetime. In *Moderate Drinking* he underlined the deceitful nature of 'a little drop', for as 'the greatest moral criminal in the Queen's dominions', it destroyed by stealth. He stated four indictments against it. Firstly, it disturbs the natural harmony of the body, as created by God. As an intruder, alcohol causes conflict which leads to stimulation and then depression. The degree of intoxication depends on the amount of alcohol ingested. Secondly, it is the first step towards drunkenness and its attendant miseries – wasted money, poverty, crime, lunacy and domestic misery. Not all moderate drinkers will become drunkards, but many will and all are in danger. Thirdly, even if moderate drinkers escape the drunkard's fate, their bad example may draw family and friends to it. Fourthly, moderate drinkers are not good at reforming drunkards, for their reproofs often meet with unfriendly retorts. Having helped to kindle the fire, they feel incapable of putting it out.¹⁷⁶

The propagation of teetotalism was effected by dividing areas into districts, each under the command of a particular leader. As previously mentioned, Livesey was the pioneer of this technique, as applied to the temperance movement. Acting under Methodist influence, he divided Preston and its surrounding areas into twenty-eight districts, 'each with its own leader or 'captain'.¹⁷⁷ This made it easier for workers to visit the homes of the poor, visitation being the basis of Livesey's conversion plan. Again, he was the most insistent advocate of personal visits by the teetotal workers to the homes of the intemperate

poor. However, he was extensively supported, and references to the benefits of such a practice are widespread until the 1870s. In this respect, Livesey was in tune with the district visiting movement that developed from the early 1830s, especially in London. Middle-class philanthropists, alarmed at the problems encountered by the poor in urban slum areas and their possible violent solutions, endeavoured to foster bonds of personal obligation and preached the virtues of sobriety, thrift and self-reliance.¹⁷⁸ For Livesey, Sunday morning was an especially productive time for visiting.

The men are then at home and often on the stool of repentance from the previous night's fuddle. The drink-shops are closed, it is the publican's half holiday, and we should take advantage of it.¹⁷⁹

Livesey put a great amount of physical effort into promoting teetotalism in the early years. He often took weeklong 'tours' in the early 1830s in order to promote the cause. 'One week I travelled above 300 miles in six days (there were no railways), attended five evening meetings, and spoke nearly two hours each evening, besides a noon meeting at Sunderland'.¹⁸⁰ The following is an extract from a report of one of his tours.

Colne. ? On Monday Night, March 2, I attended a meeting held in the Piece Hall, consisting of about 1700 persons, the Rev. J. Henderson, in the chair. My friend Anderton commenced and finished with powerful appeals, and the recitation of pieces of poetry. To a person who had not heard of Colne, the number and manifest zeal of the friends here would appear extraordinary. I delivered my lecture on malt liquor, the effect of which was rendered still more impressive by the opposition of two gentlemen present. Their arguments were so futile and so foreign to the subject, as to confirm the hearers in the truth of what they had heard. Many of the higher classes in Colne set a good example, by giving the Society their decided support. I cannot but mention the kindness of Mr. Bolton, Solicitor and Clerk to the Magistrates, who sent his horse and gig with us all the way to Halifax.¹⁸¹

Early in 1833, he made tours to Bury, Manchester, Leigh, and the adjoining villages. He also went to Liverpool, Chester, Chorley, Bolton, Manchester, Oldham, and Eccles. He was the first to introduce teetotalism to London on June 18 1834, although it took a few years to displace moderation altogether.

Through business obligations, ill health and his other public engagements, Livesey was forced to leave the missionary work and public speaking largely to a group of dedicated working class volunteers, after several very active years of 'hard work and devotedness to the cause'.¹⁸² He continued to assist through his speaking engagements and his writing, ever ready to further the cause, dispense advice and give his opinion. His various journals were mentioned earlier in this chapter. In 1869, (at seventy-five years old), after a severe bout of rheumatic fever that even prevented him from attending his wife's funeral, he stopped travelling and attending meetings. Indeed, to facilitate his life, he gave up his dépôt in Preston and converted a bedroom into a storage and packing room of temperance tracts and bills from which he dispatched parcels 'almost daily to every part of the kingdom'. Thomas Cook, by taking Livesey's temperance tracts with him on his journeys throughout the world, ensured that they reached much further afield.¹⁸³

Livesey did much to further the total abstinence cause through his famous *Malt Liquor Lecture or The Great Delusion*, first presented in Preston in 1833.¹⁸⁴ It 'ultimately became a ritual of the movement; no major temperance occasion was complete without it'.¹⁸⁵ Its main ideas were summarised and propagated in pamphlet form, thereby gaining an even wider public. For example, there is the two-paged *The Popular Delusion*, probably written for the Bradford Temperance Society.¹⁸⁶ Another, longer, fifteen-page offspin was G. D. Allot's *A Pint of Ale: What it is, and what it is not; what it is worth, and what it costs. A LECTURE (with chemical experiments)*, (third edition published in 1874).

The *Malt Liquor Lecture* caught the public's attention when delivered in Preston's theatre during the Second Annual Festival of the Preston Society, February 27 1834, when it produced 'an extraordinary impression'.¹⁸⁷ It was both an entertainment and an education for the listeners, who were from various backgrounds. For example, the lecture was given in the rectory at Haworth in April 1835 to the rector Patrick Brontë and his illustrious

daughters, the writers Charlotte, Emily and Anne, as well as to his alcoholic son Branwell.¹⁸⁸ A copy was sent to all Members of Parliament.

The idea was to demonstrate scientifically the poor nutritional content of beer in comparison with barley. Given the increasing popularity of scientific experiments in the nineteenth century, this was popular with the audience. Livesey declined to take out a copyright on his lecture and an estimated two million copies were printed by 1881 for the use of any temperance speaker, or for sale to the public.¹⁸⁹

The scientific experiments, whilst entertaining, only occupied a quarter of the lecture. The remainder was concerned with specific arguments in favour of teetotalism, based on appeals to reason through ‘shrewd arguments and plain and homely illustrations [...] and language’.¹⁹⁰

Livesey began his lecture by reminding his audience of the relative importance of morality to a country.

The greatness of a country consists, not so much in its population, its wealth, or even in its general intelligence, as in its virtue.¹⁹¹

Moral degradation was blamed on ‘the sin of drunkenness’, for drink led to the workhouse, prison, transportation and poverty. He drew attention to the annual amount spent on drinking, ‘upwards of fifty millions sterling’, and calculated the cost of intemperance to the country to be a hundred million pounds annually. This financial aspect was underlined. Livesey then questioned why there was such a drink problem in Great Britain, where ‘liquors are expensive’ when in other countries, where they were cheap, ‘drunkenness is comparatively unknown’. He went on to point out that spirit drinking was not solely responsible for drunkenness, by any means. Here he was attempting to belay the common belief that beer and wine drinking was less harmful than taking spirits. ‘Alcohol, in all our fashionable drinks, is the ingredient which produces intoxication’. He estimated

that 25,380,000 gallons of pure alcohol were consumed annually in the form of various types of beer, 12,963,000 gallons in the form of spirits, 1,193,000 gallons in wine and 2,000,000 in cider, perry and home-made wines ? forty-one million gallons of 'pure poison'.¹⁹²

He gave interest as the powerful, primary cause of intemperance. Various types of people fitted into this category. He named, among others; traders, brewers, distillers, public house owners, maltsters and hop merchants, licensed victuallers, beer and dram shop keepers, servants, travellers and clerks, people indirectly linked with the trade like gin palace outfitters, coopers, chair makers, drapers and even the government (for it benefited from tax duties), plus those who benefited from treating others to a business/social drink.

When the bill is paid, in order to secure the connection, the customer must be asked to take a glass. If an order be wanted, when nothing else will answer, a few glasses will perhaps fetch it. If I have been under obligations to a friend, I must acknowledge it by a treat. Get the dealer to the inn in the evening, and orders are secured, and at high prices, by the bottle.¹⁹³

All of this contributed to intemperance.

The second cause of intemperance outlined in the lecture was appetite. Having acquired a taste for drink, and having to satisfy the cravings created by the constant ingestion of a dependency-inducing substance, people become the 'slaves of appetite'.

Thousands and tens of thousands, who began with a social glass to please a friend, or to relieve some ailment, have gone on, increasing the quantity, till you see them sacrificing both themselves and their families to their insatiate thirst for drink.¹⁹⁴

Fashion was the third cause of intemperance. Following our parents' example, Livesey affirmed that we drink without questioning, from cradle to grave. Immediately after a birth, at a christening, at weddings and funerals drink is a constant companion.

Such is the absurdity of the drinking fashion at funerals, that so soon as you touch the latch of the door, you are presented by a female, suitably attired, with a smoking hot tankard of poison and water.¹⁹⁵

Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter, Whitsuntide, every religious feast day, every national holiday, races, fairs and especially elections are all ‘seasons for destroying reason, impairing health, and demoralising character, by the use of strong drink’.

Humour is skilfully used in the lecture, both to poke fun at the customs of the wealthy, thereby gaining the favour of the working class members of the audience, and also to highlight the reactions of the poor, with which they obviously identify. Anecdotes are used to illustrate his points.

I was in London a few months ago, and having to call with my friends upon the Duke of Wellington’s Steward, the usual question was put ? not, what will you have to eat? but, “What sort do you drink, ale or porter, or half and half?” “Have you nothing better?” I asked, looking rather gravely. “No, Sir, he rejoined, we are not allowed anything better.” “What! can you furnish us with neither water nor milk?” He seemed to treat our remarks as a joke; but we assured him, that being Lancashire Teetotallers, we were really in earnest; and that we had too much respect for our stomachs to pour into them any such dirty, deleterious liquors.¹⁹⁶

Parodying the working class, he quoted Tommy Lord, a former drunkard, at one of the teetotal meetings.

“If my porridge (and I loike my porridge as weel’s I like ony thing else) sent hoaf as mony to hell as ale has done, I’d drop my spoon”.¹⁹⁷

Drinking customs were also causes of intemperance and came under the heading of fashion. Footings,¹⁹⁸ and apprentice fees were spent on strong drink, and again Livesey used humour to prove his point. He said of the workers who spent their collective funds at the public house;

They virtually address the landlady in the following language: “Mrs Landlady, we are coming to-night, and if you’ll give us a certain sort of drink that will cause us to be noisy and disorderly, lead us to fight and quarrel, and give one another black eyes and bloody noses ? if you’ll assist us to break your chairs and windows; send us home at an untimely hour in the morning, and unfit us for work to-morrow and several days to come ? we will give you all the money we have collected!”¹⁹⁹

The meetings of sick clubs, funeral, benefit and trade societies were also criticised for taking place in the public house. Indeed, Livesey accused the publican of establishing many such societies solely to bring in custom and thereby to make a profit from them. However, Charles Hardwick, a Grand Master of the Preston district branch of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity Friendly Society, whilst acknowledging that this was often so, stated that these ventures were generally unsuccessful. Five of the twenty-five Odd Fellows' lodges (branches) opened in public houses during the two years he was in high office in the Preston District, had to move to other premises 'because the landlord's profits were not sufficient to cover the expenses of lighting and cleaning the rooms'. As mentioned in chapter 1.1, Hardwick also refuted the oft-repeated 'self-evident inference' that meetings of Friendly Societies and the like in public houses led to increased intemperance. Speaking for his own society, which promoted temperance and claimed many teetotallers as members, and with twenty-eight years experience, he claimed that 'the very reverse is the fact'. Necessity, not choice, was cited as the reason for the situation, for alternative venues in which to meet were often unavailable for Friendly Societies and the like.²⁰⁰

Livesey pleaded for a change in the fashion, and Preston was named as the forerunner of such a change. He recounted the changes with pride, saying that there was much less drinking in 'respectable society', and, perhaps a little exaggeratedly, he said, 'even those who like it, are almost afraid of being known to drink'. Many clubs and societies met in schoolrooms, and there were teetotal christenings, weddings and funerals where tea, coffee, ginger beer or lemonade replaced the usual alcoholic drinks, producing a conduct 'more befitting the solemnity of the occasion'. He ended with an appeal to patriotism exhorting people to 'wrest [their] country from the despotic grasp of imperious

fashion'. It is worth noting that his 1866 *New Year's Appeal* belayed the apparent progress towards sobriety.

I don't wish to say that Preston is worse than other Lancashire towns, but, considering the amount of labour bestowed by the Temperance people for so many years, it ought to be better.²⁰¹

Ignorance was the fourth cause of intemperance. Although the early temperance advocates had widely countered the misnomer concerning the benefits of spirit drinking, those of beer were still widely held, for there was a general belief in the 'GREAT DELUSION' i.e. that beer was nutritional. This was so widespread that it was generally thought that giving up beer, in reality the national beverage, was positively harmful to one's health. With his accustomed astuteness, Livesey pointed out the inconsistent government behaviour. On the one hand, magistrates licensed thousands of '*drunkaries*', whilst on the other it fined those who became drunk.²⁰²

In order to ascertain the nutritional properties of malt liquor he advocated examining its consequences for those who drank it. Challenging his audience to list the good and evil effects of ale, he was sure 'the quality of the liquor shall be determined by the balance'. When the same assessment was made of other household foodstuffs, like milk, bread, meat, butter etc., he was sure that a difference would be seen and appropriate action taken.

Every article which God intended us to use, is in the aggregate productive of good, and not evil; but if there were any article in my house calculated to produce a hundredth part of the poverty, and misery, and crime, which ale is producing, I would insist upon its being entirely banished.²⁰³

He argued that those who said the above effects were due to the abuse, not the use, of ale, were mistaken, for '*the use involves the abuse*'. He made no allowance at all for moderate drinking, but did acknowledge beneficial uses for alcohol concerning 'chemical, mechanical, and medical operations'. Its uses when combined with 'coloured hop-water'

were only those of 'filling the asylums, the workhouses, and the prisons, and diffusing misery, immorality, and crime through the land'.²⁰⁴

To further discredit the nutritional fallacy concerning ale, Livesey analysed five pence worth of beer and attempted to prove that it only contained half a pence worth of nutrients. This was the most theatrical part of his lecture. After defining 'nutrient' he noted that ale was made of malt, ('vegetated barley'), and hops, hops having no nutritional content whatsoever. Referring to Dr. Franklin's much earlier observation, he stated that the nutritional content of ale was in proportion to the amount of soluble barley it contained when drunk. After consultation with brewers, he discovered that 'not more than five pennyworth of barley is used in brewing a gallon of ale that is sold for two shillings'. The cost was broken down thus: five pence for the barley, one and a quarter pence paid to the maltster, three and three quarter pence paid to the government, eight pence to the brewer and six pence to the retailer. (These figures were dramatically chalked on a blackboard). He reiterated that the figures had been published nationally and never disputed by anyone in the drink trade. To underline the dissipating effects of this trade, Livesey pointed out that the debtors' wards were full of landlords, for despite their profits they often had overheads which they could ill afford, ('large buildings and costly utensils to support, besides horses, carts, labourers, riders out etc.'). Thus, 'the traffic is bad for the buyer, bad for the seller, and bad altogether'.²⁰⁵

Livesey went on to show that not more than a fifth of the five pennyworth of barley was present in the ale. A man could have bought thirty pounds of barley for the two shillings spent on a gallon of ale, and been much better off nutritionally. He amusingly recounted how a worker may as well go down the street freely giving away portions of his thirty pound barley store to the maltster, excise man, brewer, landlord and landlady, leaving only six pounds of barley for himself. This was the amount needed to make a

gallon of ale, but Livesey went on to explain that through the malting, brewing and fermenting processes themselves, (explained in some detail), much of the barley was lost. He then applied heat to the spirit, water and malt extract in a quart of ale, and showed that after the evaporation of the spirit and the three and a half gills of water only two ounces and a quarter of extract remained. This equalled nine ounces for a gallon of ale. 'Competent authorities' declared it to be of a 'coarse description' and that 'weight for weight, wheaten bread contains more food than this extract'. As more than nine ounces of bread could be obtained for a penny, and a gallon of ale contained only nine ounces of the food extract, 'the conclusion is inevitable that, as I have pronounced a thousand times, *there is more food in a pennyworth of bread than in a gallon of ale.*'²⁰⁶

To further his point that ignorance was a prime cause for drinking, Livesey went on to describe the falsity of the belief in its strength-giving properties. The workman misunderstood the temporary excitement produced by ale, ignoring its permanent, negative effects. By constantly stimulating the nervous system and robbing the body of proper food, ale was really a source of weakness.

If drinking ale really gives strength and vigour to the body, the man who gets his quart on a Saturday night ought to be full of blood and quite active on a Sunday morning; instead of which, we find him thirsty, depressed, and scarcely able to get from his bed to his big chair.²⁰⁷

Livesey then set fire to the spirit previously extracted from the ale, demonstrating its powerful propensity for doing evil to the human body, 'to the surprise and conviction of many who saw it'. The damage provoked by alcohol was evoked: the destruction of the stomach and the liver, a red, brandy-blossomed face, etc. Although many of the working men in his audience had probably never suffered in this way, Livesey felt sure that their pockets had often been burned out.

The appeal to the pocket was evident again in the shock statement about the wanton destruction of barley. For him, it was preferable to throw into the sea the forty million bushels of barley ‘destroyed’ every year by making alcoholic drinks. He ranted against the ‘destruction’ of good grain.

When a few stacks of corn were burned by the incendiaries in the south, an alarm was spread throughout the country, special assizes were convened, and the perpetrators of such unlawful deeds were sentenced to condign punishment. What, then, shall we say of the maltsters and the brewers, who are destroying grain by the wholesale, and with that, destroying the health, peace, comfort and morality of the people!²⁰⁸

His argument reinforced the idea of class favouritism in the courts, for the maltsters and brewers were of a higher social class than the incendiaries. In blaming the former for the destruction of the ‘health, peace, comfort and morality of the people’ he pointed out that they remained unpunished for grave crimes whilst those who burned ‘a few stacks of corn’ received their just desserts. His allegiance with the poor is evident again here.

He presented succinct arguments against the ability of ale to quench a worker’s thirst, to provide him with strength (only ‘good food’ could do that), and to keep a man stimulated for long. He urged his audience to act, if they had been convinced by his arguments, and pleaded his sympathy with the working man (details of the difficult circumstances of his early years were revealed). He was aware that he appeared ‘in an attitude of opposition to the prejudices and customs to which [the workers] have long been addicted’, but insisted he was thinking of their long-term benefit.²⁰⁹

His final argument concerning ignorance rested on the fact that ale did not make people fat, except perhaps landlords, but that was not due to the properties of ale. On the contrary, they got fat by having the best food (‘the food of thousands of poor children is transferred to them’), they had no worries and they did little exercise.

Turn the sow upon the common, with nothing but what it can pick, and it may get fresh, but not very fat; confine it to the sty, and give it plenty of meal and potatoes, and you will soon see the difference.²¹⁰

Livesey's unflattering comparison of landlords to pigs is somewhat different to a previous more sympathetic portrait of debt-ridden men.

The final general cause of intemperance was 'deep depravity'. By this, Livesey meant that even though many people were fully aware of, or suffering from, the evil consequences of drink, even though they were not followers of fashion or in the drink trade itself, they continued to frequent the public house out of 'love of sin and sinful practices'. People simply enjoyed having a drink, but his religious views obliged Livesey to equate this type of pleasure with sin. According to Livesey, as the vices of society were all linked with strong drink, the only explanation for the behaviour of the aforementioned was that they drank in order to 'indulge in other vices'. 'Idleness, swearing, lying, revenge, gaming, cruelty, debauchery, and all kinds of folly, are allowed and practised in public-houses'. He stressed that unless abstainers also put their trust in God and truly repented of their sins, then they would frequently break their vows. The importance of God's help is reiterated in the following extract.

Hence, as temperance, in the first instance, is the restorer of reason, and a deliverer from the shackles of the ale bench, all who feel interested in the completion of our temperance reformation, should, at proper times and places, endeavour to bring every reformed drunkard under the influence of that gospel which is the power of God to complete salvation. And perhaps no stronger recommendation could be given of our system than this, that an increased attendance at churches and chapels and a revival of religion have generally followed the successful establishment of Tee-total Societies.²¹¹

Livesey continued his lecture by denouncing the arguments of those who said teetotalism was extreme. Again, he linked teetotalism with a moral reformation, and pointed out the hypocrisy of the rich who canvassed against spirit drinking among the poor while partaking of wine themselves. As all strong drinks contained alcohol, whether they

were ale, porter, wine or ardent spirits, it was illogical to advocate the abstinence from some but not others. He criticised the moderationists for the vagueness of their cause. What, exactly, did they mean by 'moderation'? How much was 'a little' or 'a few glasses'? The notion itself was 'the fatal cause of all our drunkenness'. As moderationists placed intoxicating liquor on a par with other foodstuffs, Livesey challenged them to walk down a street and determine who had taken a moderate or excessive amount of butter, bacon, tea, coffee or bread that morning. This was an impossible task, although determining the same for alcoholic liquor was infinitely easier. Thus, he argued, strong drink and other foods could not be considered in the same way.²¹²

He observed that alcohol and drunkenness were intrinsically linked. Moderate drinking meant moderate drunkenness. If four glasses of beer made a man completely drunk, then two would make him half-drunk etc. For Livesey, there was always a negative effect no matter what the quantity drunk. In this way, he refuted the moderationists' argument that drinking a little did no harm. 'Moderation in intoxicating liquors is incipient drunkenness'.²¹³

He further stated that the moderate drinker was giving a bad example to others, encouraging them to alcoholism. 'No man was born a drunkard, planned to be one, or became one overnight, but moderate drinking was the beginning of every drunkard's fall'. Twenty years of sober drinking was no guarantee that in adversity he would not become a drunkard. The moderate man walked on the edge of a precipice, ready to fall at any time. In some ways, the moderate drinker was worse than the drunkard because people shunned the drunkard's example while following the moderate man's. Philanthropists, reformers and some 'religionists' were included in the despised moderationist camp, the usefulness of their advocacy of the temperance cause being neutralised by their moderate drinking habits.

Livesey, a devout Christian, took care to cite the Bible in defence of his anti-drink arguments. ‘Do thyself no harm’, ‘Love all men’, ‘Promote harmony’, ‘Be merciful’, ‘No drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven’, and ‘Deny yourselves to promote the happiness of others’ were all quoted and related to the teetotal cause. Teetotal principles were declared not to be at variance with the Scriptures. The so-called ‘two-wine theory’ and Livesey’s support for it were mentioned in the last chapter. Suffice here to quote his justification for such a theory from the *Malt Liquor Lecture*;

[...] the character of Jesus himself, in the absence of all other evidence, is a sufficient guarantee to me, that the wine used on these occasions, was such as would not lead to intoxication.²¹⁴

He produced ‘facts’ to further back up his case for the scriptural blessing of teetotalism. Names of biblical non-drinkers were cited. Samson and his mother, the children of Aaron, Daniel when he lived at the court in Babylon, the Israelites during their forty years in exile, and Jonadab and his sons of the tribe of the Rechabites. Finally, he defied anyone to negate God’s support for ‘glorious’ teetotalism, given the numerous beneficial changes wrought by it in the lives of so many Preston workers.²¹⁵

He ended with a rousing appeal, firstly to the teetotallers for perseverance and patience, then to the drunkards that they may give up strong drink with the help of their best friends, (the teetotallers). The much-used metaphors of the temperance city of refuge with its gates wide open, and the stormy ocean with its teetotal lifeboat were introduced here. Next, he appealed to the patriotism and reforming spirit of the moderationists and quoted Bentham’s famous recipe; ‘If the “greatest happiness of the greatest number” be the object of your agitations, you have now before you the best plan that ever was discovered for securing this important end’. He also appealed to their self-interest and their pockets, for it was on the sober that the cost of the nation’s drunkenness fell. As capitalists, Livesey underlined the advantage to the middle and upper classes of having a sober population that

would attract capital investment, saying that the temperance society was an ‘insurance for the safety of every man’s property’. He urged the Christian ministers not to build with one hand and tear down with the other i.e. not to deceive by bad example. He was also anxious that they commit themselves to the cause, for neutrality, on the part of ministers, ‘is considered as a censure upon our Society and prevents numbers from joining’. He invited them to observe at first hand the homes of the drunkards, to witness the scenes at the jerry shop, the dram shop and the public house, and thereby observe the people who were ‘sinking into the gulf of intemperance’. Thus prepared, they would be able to sanction the remedy that had never failed, total abstinence. Given the fact that ‘nine-tenths of the crime of this country proceeds from intoxication’, Livesey pressed the magistrates to be more prudent and active in order to lessen the harm done by the public houses. He criticised the high number of ‘drunkaries’ (‘every twentieth house is metamorphosed into a *drunkery*’), and praised the tendency to grant fewer fresh licenses, even though this tended to create a monopoly situation which was generally against his political principles. He encouraged them to enforce the laws against drunkenness, to suggest ways of combating it, to support temperance societies, and above all to abstain from all intoxicating liquors and persuade family and friends to do the same. He recognised that women suffered more for they were affected by their own, their husband’s, father’s or brother’s alcohol abuse. He pleaded with them to co-operate in the promotion of temperance by setting a good example and by helping to change the drinking customs at celebrations.

To conclude his lecture, Livesey thanked his audience for their patience and sent them home with the sounds of a poem (of dubious quality) ringing in their ears:

Fathers in Britain! Pillars of the state,
Guides of our youth, with rapture greet the plan
Destined to cheer the good, to aid the great,
Adorn the Christian, and exalt the man. [...]
And you, ye Fair! To man in kindness given,
This triumph grace with your soul-cheering smile:

Thus, then, approved, the God of earth and heaven
Will pour his blessings on our favoured isle!

There were inaccuracies in Livesey's scientific arguments. As Brian Harrison points out;

He wrongly claimed that sugar is produced in the malting process; in reality, it is produced at the mashing stage. The temperature of the hot water in the fermenting stage should be approximately 150° F not 170° F. Far from being dissolved at the mashing stage, sugar is actually produced then. Livesey wrongly assumes that starch remains in the wort when the beer wort is run off, whereas a brewer would not run off any liquid until he had tested to ensure that all starch had been converted into sugar. At the fermenting stage, Livesey wrongly assumed that all sugar content was destroyed, whereas in reality a varying proportion remains according to the type of beer in question. Finally, in his account of the fermenting and fining processes, Livesey seems to confuse yeast with barley-residue.²¹⁶

In addition, the assertion that weight-loss during the brewing process meant that food value had been reduced was not necessarily so. The technical assumptions and procedures of the *Malt Liquor Lecture*, however, were rarely challenged, and his arguments were persuasive. If the aim is to obtain optimum nutrition, then eating barley is better than drinking beer. The absence of national organisation, money and unity in the brewing trade until around 1885 was an important reason for the uncoordinated defence of their interests.²¹⁷ It was probably responsible for the concentration on more easily defensible legislative issues, (proposed changes in licensing laws, for example).

Conclusion

Livesey died on September 2 1884, having 'truly loved, deeply cared, and nobly fought for his fellow men and women'.²¹⁸ Preston's outpouring of sorrow was astounding. Although best remembered in temperance circles, his support of free trade was arguably the most successful of his endeavours. However, he was not vital to that campaign's

success, for other, more important protagonists were involved. The sustained efforts he made to introduce and further total abstinence were, on the other hand, more decisive. His frequent bouts of ill health circumscribed his temperance work. Nevertheless, his business acumen helped him give vital leadership to the temperance movement in the 1830s and 1840s. He wrote the first teetotal pledge, provided a meeting place for the pioneers, and devised its first manifesto, the *Malt Liquor Lecture*. His publishing interests produced the influential temperance organ, *The Preston Temperance Advocate*.

His efforts to spread education to young and old alike no doubt helped individuals, but he was the first to admit his disappointment at the lack of sustained, mass working class intellectual progress. As an alternative recreational pursuit to drinking, adult schools did not have mass appeal. However, Livesey's memory lives on today in the University of Central Lancashire, whose roots can be traced back to Livesey (the organiser of the 1828 meeting that set up the Preston Institute for the Diffusion of Knowledge, precursor of UCLAN). The Social Studies Department is in Livesey House.

His philanthropic schemes had impact on the lives of many ordinary Prestonians, and he certainly knew how to put a spanner in the works of the New Poor Law. Perhaps his constant exposure of what he believed to be wrong, whether in the political, religious or social spheres, made him too many enemies in Preston's influential places. A fitting memorial to him has never been erected in the city.²¹⁹

He did not live long enough to witness the improvements for which he had fought. His dream of an alcohol-free society remains utopian. His efforts *were* appreciated by many during his lifetime, however. The public celebration of his eightieth birthday, on March 5 1874, demonstrated the esteem in which he was held. Homage was paid by representatives from the major temperance organisations in the United Kingdom, and an extract constitutes a fitting conclusion to an appreciation of his life.

Your name has been a household word in temperance circles throughout the length and breadth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. [...] As an author and a lecturer, you did much to launch the infant cause upon the great sea of public opinion. Your visit to the principal towns and cities in the kingdom, and the delivery of your famous *Malt Liquor Lecture* attracted wide attention, and laid broad and deep the foundations of the movement that has now found a place in almost every town and village in the land, and which is now all but universally admitted to be one of the greatest and most beneficent enterprises of the age.²²⁰

From considering the personification of teetotalism, attention will now be paid to the subsequent phase of the temperance movement; legislative prohibition.

Reference Notes

Chapter 4 Give it up

¹ *Preston Guardian*, Sept. 6 1884.

² Moss: 1932?, p. 9.

³ For example, Urwin, E. C. *A Weaver at the Loom of Time* and Moss, *1832-1932 Centenary of Teetotalism*; Carter: 1933, p. 21; Walmsley: 1884, p. 3.

⁴ Pearce: 1885, pp.3-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸ Smiles: 1958, p. 13.

⁹ Pearce: 1885, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

¹¹ Pearce: 1885, p. xi.

¹² This journal was owned, printed and published by Livesey from 1831-33 and during 1838. All extracts are taken from bound, annual volumes.

¹³ *The Moral Reformer*, Jan. 1 1831, p. 13; *The Moral Reformer*, May 1 1833, pp. 141-3.

¹⁴ Pearce: 1885, p. 8.

¹⁵ See 'Confirmation', *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1832, pp. 197-205.

¹⁶ Pearce: 1885, p. 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁸ 'Primitive and Modern Christianity, Primitive and Modern Teachers, and their respective effects upon society', *The Moral Reformer*, June 1 1831, pp. 161-176.

¹⁹ *The Moral Reformer*, June 1 1831, p. 169.

²⁰ *The Moral Reformer*, April 1 1831, p. 122. Mr Wilson, incumbent of Livesey's parish church, was ironically welcomed back after a six-week absence in July 1832. His presence was felt by the summons for his six halfpenny Easter dues, tithes that Livesey felt he did not merit for he neither promoted peace and goodwill nor needed assistance; *The Moral Reformer*, July 1 1832, p. 211.

²¹ *The Moral Reformer*, June 1 1831, p. 169.

²² Compulsory church rates were finally abolished on Gladstone's initiative in 1868.

- ²³ 'A statement of the impoverished condition of the different classes of this country; the immediate causes of their sufferings; and the proper methods of affording relief', *The Moral Reformer*, Feb. 1 1831, p. 36.
- ²⁴ Pearce: 1885, p. 52.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ²⁷ After the failure of the Chartists' petition to parliament, there was fear that the advocates of direct action or 'Physical Force Party', would gain the upper hand and revolution follow.
- ²⁸ Pearce: 1885, p. xx; *ibid.*, p. 85.
- ²⁹ *Livesey's Moral Reformer*, no. 18, Sept. 1838.
- ³⁰ *Socialism and Religion*, like all the pamphlets the Party produced, was signed by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. It was a bestseller among political pamphlets for over twenty years, (Barltrop: 1975, p. 31).
- ³¹ *Id. ibid.*
- ³² Pearce: 1885, p. 12.
- ³³ Longmate: 1868, p. 39.
- ³⁴ Pearce: 1885, p. 12.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8. By 1842, he had changed his opinion of the Guild Festival, however. He criticised its tumult and confusion, the preponderance of acts of cruelty, combat and gaming, its tendency to divide the rich and poor and its heavy drinking, (*The Struggle*, no. 38, p. 3). The Guild Festival is a famous four-yearly attraction even today. For more information on Preston's history see Hewitson's *History of Preston*.
- ³⁷ Hewitson: 1969, p. 95.
- ³⁸ Defoe, wrote in *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*: 'The people are gay here, though not perhaps the richer for that; but it has by that obtained the name of Proud Preston', (Defoe: 1986, p. 548). Livesey believed Preston was 'Proud' because of its elevated geographical position, 'having to be approached on all sides by advancing ground', (Pearce: 1885, p. 26). The actual origin of the title 'Proud Preston', still used today, is lost in time. The name Preston originates from Priests' Town. This name derived from its religious residents, the nuns of the ancient city of Ribchester, (*Parliamentary Gazetteer*: 1842-3, p. 650).
- ³⁹ Hunt: 1992, p. 145. Joseph Livesey estimated a population of 100,000 in 1868.
- ⁴⁰ Midwinter: 1969, p. 1; Clay, J., *Report on the Sanitary Condition of Preston*, 1842, quoted in Hunt: 1992, p. 160.
- ⁴¹ Pearce: 1885, p. 26.
- ⁴² Preston was first represented in Parliament in 1295. Unlike most boroughs, the right to vote in parliamentary elections was extensive, and had been granted to 'every man of 21 years of age with a six months residence, unless a pauper. [...] Violence and rioting were seldom wanting [at election time], and bribery and corruption were rampant', (Pearce: 1885, pp. 50-1) The number of registered electors in 1837 was 3,782, of whom 2,785 voted by right of universal suffrage, (*Parliamentary Gazetteer 1842-3*: p. 650). For more details of Preston's local government and franchise see *Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales 1842-3*.
- ⁴³ Longmate: 1968, p. 37; *New Year's Address*, 1875, p. 3.
- ⁴⁴ Dickens: 1979, p. 65.
- ⁴⁵ This extract appears as a passage 'quoted incessantly' referring to Tothill Street, Westminster, and substantiates Longmate's point that 'The 450-page volume of Evidence heard by the Committee [on Drunkenness] provided ammunition for temperance reformers for the rest of the century', (Longmate: 1968, p. 93).
- ⁴⁶ Carter: 1933, p. 29.
- ⁴⁷ *New Year's Address*, 1876, p. 1.
- ⁴⁸ He gave his loom to a poor man called Joseph Woodruff, later buying it back for a sovereign and converting it into a writing table. It served as a permanent reminder of his origins, 'the cradle of my future usefulness'. He wished it to remind his children after his death 'that their father was a poor man, and that of all the duties incumbent upon them they should never forget the poor!', (Pearce: 1885, p. 15). It now stands somewhat unceremoniously in the Special Collections at UCLAN, covered by a green baize cloth and supporting the visitors' book.
- ⁴⁹ Livesey gives a general account of this part of his life in his autobiography, Pearce: 1885, pp. 14-16. See also Clark, M., 'The Business and Family Man', in Levitt: 1996, pp. 16-17.
- ⁵⁰ Levitt: 1996, p. 8.
- ⁵¹ Twins were born in 1816, but only one, William, survived (died 1909). William was followed by Joseph (1818 ? ?), Priscilla (1820 ? 1821), John (1822 ? c. 1895), Newton (1823 ? ?), Howard (1825 ? 1826),

Howard II (1827 ? 1892), Jane (1829 ? ?), James (1831 ? 1923), Alfred (1833 ? ?), Franklin Edwin (1835 ? ?), Priscilla II (1837 ? 1840).

⁵² Pearce: 1885, p. 18.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6; Clark: 1996, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Pearce: 1885, p. xxxvi.

⁵⁵ 'Education; or a brief description of the duties of parents, particularly in reference to the moral, social and religious duties of children; with remarks on some of the excellencies and defects of the present schools', *The Moral Reformer*, March 1 1831, pp. 65-83.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1831, p. 65.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fn. pp. 70-71.

⁵⁸ This aspect of Livesey's character is especially evident in the articles he wrote in *Livesey's Progressionist*, 1853. Many dealt with domestic economy, personal and household cleanliness. 'Mrs Meanwell's lecture on little things' was the first of a short series of this nature. Through the well-meaning Mrs Meanwell, Livesey advised women extensively on the ills of gossiping, the necessity for tidiness and diligence etc. Details included sewing nametags into umbrellas, pasting all recipes into a book made for the purpose out of old newspapers, and making frequent inspections of the pantry in search of mouldy mutton, (*Livesey's Progressionist*, no. 2, 1853, p. 5).

⁵⁹ *The Moral Reformer*, Feb. 1 1831, p. 35.

⁶⁰ Livesey, J., *Remarks on the present state of Sunday Schools with hints for their improvement. Also a Recommendation of Youths' Schools, and of Doctor Chalmers' "Local System" as best adapted to counteract the present progress of juvenile depravity*, 1829, p. 3. Henceforward *Remarks*.

⁶¹ *New Year's Address*, 1876, p. 2.

⁶² Walton J. K., 'The north-west', in Thompson: 1990, pp. 376-7.

⁶³ *Remarks*: 1829, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Pearce: 1885, p. 41.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁶ Levitt: 1996, p. 42.

⁶⁷ Walton, J. K., 'The north-west', in Thompson: 1990, pp. 376-7.

⁶⁸ *Remarks*: 1829, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁹ *Livesey's Progressionist*, no. 2, 1853, p. 2.

⁷⁰ *Remarks*: 1829, pp. 1-11. The social pioneer of the early 1820s, Rev. Dr. Chalmers, was renowned for his formula for providing measured charitable relief only through a network of voluntary visitors. His ideas were opposed by many contemporaries, however, and the veracity of his accounting has since been questioned, leading to suspicion that he manipulated statistics to 'prove' his theories, see Humphreys: 1995, pp. 58-9.

⁷¹ *Livesey's Progressionist*, no. 2, 1853, p. 2.

⁷² *The Moral Reformer*, March 1 1831, p. 78.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, fn p. 79.

⁷⁴ Pearce: 1885, pp. xxxviii and 45.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷⁶ *The Moral Reformer*, March 1 1831, p. 81.

⁷⁷ See his pamphlet *Is Education the best remedy?* n.d.

⁷⁸ *Preston Guardian*, Oct. 31 1863; Pearce: 1885, p. 43.

⁷⁹ *Livesey's Progressionist*, no. 1, p. 15.

⁸⁰ *The Moral Reformer*, Aug. 1 1831 pp. 225-39.

⁸¹ 'Hints': 1831, p. 226.

⁸² Pearce: 1885, p. 28.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁸⁴ *Id. ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸⁸ Pearce: 1885, p. 36. For more details of the cotton famine, see Hunt, D., *A History of Preston*. Livesey was involved in many more schemes to help the poor. See his autobiography in Pearce: 1885, pp. 28-30 and 32-35; *Meliora*, vol. VI, 1864, p. 65.

⁸⁹ Smiles: 1897, p. 158.

⁹⁰ Smiles: 1958, p. 35.

⁹¹ Smiles: 1897, p. 22.

⁹² Pearce: 1885, p. xliii.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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- ⁹⁴ Livesey: 1826, p. 3.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
- ⁹⁶ Pearce: 1885, p. 47.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- ⁹⁸ Clark, 'The Business and Family Man', in Levitt: 1996, p. 29.
- ⁹⁹ Hunt: 1992, p. 198.
- ¹⁰⁰ Levitt: 1996, p. 34.
- ¹⁰¹ Hewitson: 1969, p. 66. The punch bowl is now in the Harris Museum, Preston.
- ¹⁰² Livesey warned after the passing of the Reform Act in 1832 that every man should be on his guard against the defeated oppressors of the people. He should 'identify himself with the progress of principles whose tendency is, the greatest happiness to the greatest number', ('Parliamentary Reform', *The Moral Reformer*, June 1 1832, p. 184). Again, in 1843, he wrote in 'Would Universal Teetotalism be a Substitute for Repeal?', 'Our motto should be, the *greatest good* to the *greatest number*', (*The Struggle*, no. 63, p. 2); The failure is recounted in Livesey's *New Year's Address*, 1875, p. 2.
- ¹⁰³ Pearce: 1885, p. 29; Longmate: 1968, p. 50.
- ¹⁰⁴ He was a member of the Board of Guardians from 1836-9 and 1841-3.
- ¹⁰⁵ Power was a lawyer and a particular friend of Edwin Chadwick's.
- ¹⁰⁶ *The Struggle*, no. 11, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 10, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁸ Pearce: 1885, p. 38.
- ¹⁰⁹ See Livesey's letter to the *Preston Chronicle*, Nov. 21 1840. Magistrates were not all in favour of the New Poor Law, as stated in chapter 1.2, and so could influence the Boards either way.
- ¹¹⁰ He was right to question the rationale of imposing a scheme intended to combat high rates, for Lancashire had the lowest county rate in 1834 (4s 4½d.). In 1837 it was only 2s 9d., when the Commission was boasting a national reduction to 5s 10d. from 9s 1d. in 1834, (Midwinter: 1969, p. 22).
- ¹¹¹ *The Struggle*, no. 2, p. 4.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, no. 4, p. 3.
- ¹¹³ Pearce: 1885, p. 39.
- ¹¹⁴ *Livesey's Moral Reformer*, no. 15, June 1838, pp. 117-9.
- ¹¹⁵ See Hewitson: 1969, pp. 403-10 for a full description of the working of the new Preston Union Workhouse.
- ¹¹⁶ Carroll: 1998, p. 75.
- ¹¹⁷ *The Staunth Teetotaler*, November 1868, p. 354. For more details of Livesey's electioneering see his *Autobiography* pp. 50-1. Bribery and treating at elections became an imprisonable offence in 1883 with the Liberal Party's Corrupt Practices Act.
- ¹¹⁸ Pearce: 1885, p. 51.
- ¹¹⁹ *The Struggle*, no. 86, p. 2.
- ¹²⁰ For example, see *The Struggle*, no. 76, p. 2 and no. 98, p. 2.
- ¹²¹ *The Staunth Teetotaler*, November 1868, p. 355.
- ¹²² The 1832 requirement of electoral registration had encouraged electoral organisation. This began well before the Anti-Corn Law League campaign. Between 1833 and 1837 the registered county electorate rose from 344,000 to 444,000, (quoted in Parry: 1993, p. 129). The initial registration enthusiasm seemed to be falling by 1841, however, (*Ibid.*, p. 155).
- ¹²³ With his father's backing, Horrockses Farm in Fulwood was bought by William Livesey for £4,995. A share issue was held for the 45 farm acres in the Temperance Hall, Preston, January 1851. 183 people drew the 335 shares and a sum was set aside for the payment of tithes to the vicar of Lancaster. Housing was mainly constructed on the land after 1875, after the horse-drawn tram reached Fulwood in 1879, (Clark, M., 'The Business and Family Man', in Levitt: 1996, pp. 20-1).
- ¹²⁴ Quoted in Pearce: 1885, p. 24.
- ¹²⁵ *Id. ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ Pearce: 1885, p. 20.
- ¹²⁷ *The Struggle*, no. 10, 1842, p. 3.
- ¹²⁸ *Preston Chronicle*, May 12 1832.
- ¹²⁹ *The Moral Reformer*, June 1 1832, p. 184.
- ¹³⁰ *Id. Ibid.*
- ¹³¹ Pearce: 1885, p. 19; This line of thought was common to the anti-Corn Law advocates, for example see Bentham's tract *Observations on the restrictive and Prohibitory Commercial System*, 1821, (quoted in Dinwiddy: 1986, p. 16)
- ¹³² Pearce: 1885, p. 19.

- ¹³³ *The Struggle*, no. 22, p. 1.
- ¹³⁴ Pearce: 1885, p. 20.
- ¹³⁵ *The Moral Reformer*, March 1 1831, p. 91.
- ¹³⁶ Carter: 1933, p. 22.
- ¹³⁷ *The Struggle*, no. 7, p. 3.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 51, pp. 1-3.
- ¹³⁹ 'Joseph Livesey as Author and Publisher' in *Upward*, 1898, p. 1.
- ¹⁴⁰ Pearce: 1885, p. lxi.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁴² *The Struggle*, no. 1, pp. 1-2.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, no. 4, p. 3.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 2, p. 4.
- ¹⁴⁵ Levitt: 1996, p. 14.
- ¹⁴⁶ *The Struggle*, no. 15, p. 4 and Pearce: 1885, p. 47.
- ¹⁴⁷ *The Moral Reformer*, 1831, p. 1.
- ¹⁴⁸ Pearce: 1885, p. 47.
- ¹⁴⁹ Baker, 'The Public Figure,' in Levitt: 1996, p. 49.
- ¹⁵⁰ *The Preston Guardian*, Feb. 10 1844, p. 1.
- ¹⁵¹ Pearce: 1885, p. 46.
- ¹⁵² See 'Cautions to teetotalers', *Livesey's Progressionist*, no. 1, 1853, p. 12.
- ¹⁵³ *The Staunch Teetotaler*, January 1867, p. 1.
- ¹⁵⁴ *The Moral Reformer*, Aug. 1 1832, p. 247.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 1 1833, p. 230.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Id. Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁷ *The Moral Reformer*, March 1 1833, pp. 81-2.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, April 1 1832, p. 124.
- ¹⁵⁹ *The Struggle*, no. 4, p. 3.
- ¹⁶⁰ *The Moral Reformer*, Jan. 1 1833, p. 231.
- ¹⁶¹ For a complete view of Livesey's ideas on trade unions, see his leading article, 'Trades' Unions', *The Struggle*, no. 44, pp. 1-4.
- ¹⁶² 'Machinery', in *The Struggle*, no. 42, pp. 14. For a further defence of machinery see also 'Does machinery throw people out of work?' *The Struggle*, no. 65, pp. 1-4.
- ¹⁶³ 'Masters and Workmen? Labour, Capital, Wealth etc.', *The Moral Reformer*, Nov. 1 1833, p. 336.
- ¹⁶⁴ See *The Struggle*, no. 3, pp. 1-2.
- ¹⁶⁵ See his response in *Moral Reformer*, no. 11, 1833.
- ¹⁶⁶ 'Masters and Workmen? Labour, Capital, Wealth etc.', *The Moral Reformer*, Nov. 1 1833, p. 328.
- ¹⁶⁷ 'A plan for removing the distress of this country', *Preston Chronicle*, Feb. 6 1830.
- ¹⁶⁸ Quoted in Hunt, D., 'The Moral Reformer', in Levitt: 1996, p. 66. See also Livesey's criticisms in 'Mr Owen's Lectures', *The Moral Reformer*, Oct. 1 1833, pp. 297-300.
- ¹⁶⁹ 'Masters and Workmen', *The Moral Reformer*, Nov. 1 1833, p. 328.
- ¹⁷⁰ Pearce: 1885, p. 44.
- ¹⁷¹ Livesey: 'Reminiscences' in *The Staunch Teetotaler*, p. 4.
- ¹⁷² Smiles: 1958, p. 184.
- ¹⁷³ Pearce: 1885, pp. 81-2; Quoted in Pearce: 1885, p. 64; Livesey was not the only teetotaler who admired Franklin. Thomas Whittaker's self improvement was achieved through studying the Bible and an abridged version of the *Life of Dr. Franklin*, for many years the only books he possessed, (Whittaker: 1885, p. 60).
- ¹⁷⁴ *A New Year's Address to the inhabitants of Preston*, 1869, p. 2.
- ¹⁷⁵ Livesey: 1862, p. 13.
- ¹⁷⁶ *Moderate Drinking*, n.d., pp. 1-2.
- ¹⁷⁷ Livesey: 1867, p. 8.
- ¹⁷⁸ Green: 1995, pp. 200-5.
- ¹⁷⁹ Pearce: 1885, pp. 85-6.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- ¹⁸¹ *The Preston Temperance Advocate*, April 1835, p. 29.
- ¹⁸² Pearce: 1885, p. 61.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 90; *Joseph Livesey as Author and Publisher*: 1898, p. 8.
- ¹⁸⁴ The use of the words 'Great Delusion' in the title recalls Bentham's campaign against corruption and delusion from the 1820s. For Bentham, 'delusion' was 'the process whereby the ruling few, through their influence over opinion-forming agencies such as the Church, educational institutions, and the press, induced

the subject many to accept and even respect the established mode of government and distribution of power', (Dinwiddy: 1986, p. 17). For Livesey, the 'delusion' was the mistaken belief, propagated by the government formed of the landowning class, an interested party, that alcoholic drink was beneficial for health.

¹⁸⁵ Longmate: 1968, p. 49.

¹⁸⁶ In *Temperance Tracts* 8, BCL.

¹⁸⁷ Pearce: 1885, p. xc.

¹⁸⁸ The Rev. Patrick Brontë was the incumbent of Haworth parish and with the assistance of Wilsden teetotallers he helped to form the first total abstinence society there in 1834, along with the Baptist ministers Rev. M. Saunders, and Rev. J. Winterbottom, (*Temperance Penny Magazine*, April 1836, p. 53).

¹⁸⁹ Pearce: 1885, p. 101.

¹⁹⁰ Axon: 1894, p. 18.

¹⁹¹ Livesey: 1836, p. 2.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁹⁶ *Id. ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ Money paid into a common fund on the laying of a building's foundation.

¹⁹⁹ Livesey: 1836, p. 7.

²⁰⁰ Hardwick: 1869, p. 148.

²⁰¹ Livesey: 1866, p. 1.

²⁰² Livesey: 1836, pp. 8-9.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²¹³ *Id. ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-7.

²¹⁶ Harrison: 1994, p. 117.

²¹⁷ Gutzke: 1989, pp. 60-1.

²¹⁸ *Evening Post*, Nov. 5 1964; for details of his will and financial interests in general see Clark, M., 'The Business and Family Man', in Levitt: 1996, pp. 18-25.

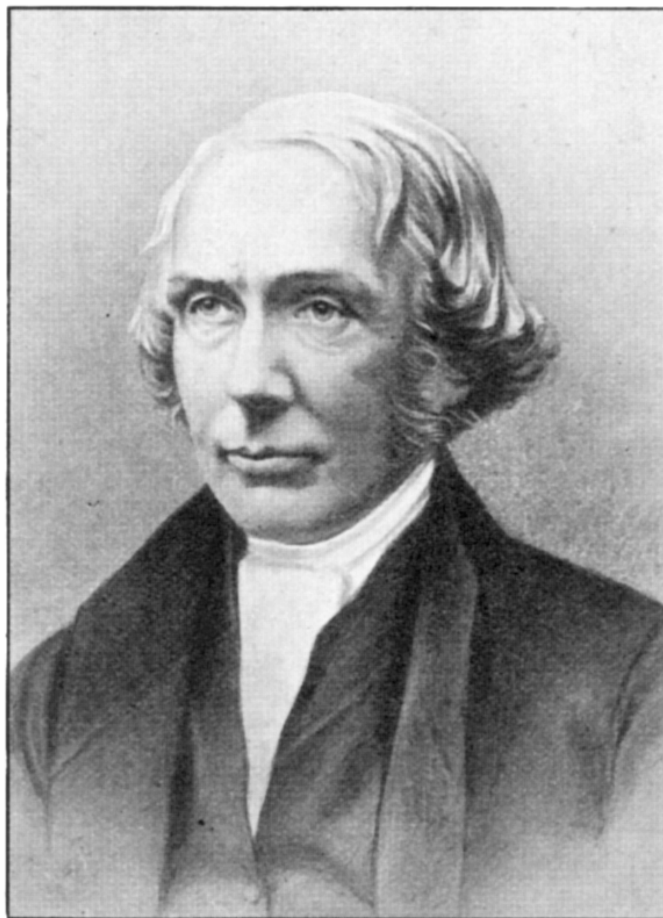
²¹⁹ According to Emma Heslewood, Keeper of Social History at the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston, a bronze plaque was erected where Livesey was born and grew up in Walton-le-Dale, probably in the 1970s. The plaque made for his house in Bank Parade, Preston, was never put up due to the objections of the owners. It is in storage at the Harris Museum.

²²⁰ Pearce: 1885, p. 93.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INIMICAL TRADE.

ATTEMPTS AT THE LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION
OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC 1853 ? 1872



Nathaniel Card (1805-56). Founder of the United Kingdom Alliance
Campbell, R., *Rehabite History*, p. 343.

PROHIBITION

I knew a victim once, whose life was all undone
Through drink. A handsome youth, a father's only son,
Who sent him o'er the sea, into the State of Maine,
Where *Prohibition* is the law, and Temperance has reign.
His brightest hopes were reached, temptation was away;
The youth was saved, gave up his drink, and happy is to-day.
[?] Shall we then send our sons across the briny deep,
That fathers may not mourn, nor mothers wail and weep?
No! No! with million voices of thunder, No! No! No!
But from our own dear land the liquor trade must go.
[?] By license, now, the law throws its protecting arm
Round men, who, as they thrive, do other people harm.
Then will just law put forth its heaven-born might,
To stop temptation, and protect the path of right;
And grateful songs will rise to God who reigns on high,
Whose blessing on our labours has secured this victory.

Hilton, J., 'The Temperance Worker' in *Brief Memoirs*, n.d.

An analysis of the temperance movement in the 1850s-70s must focus on one particular organisation, the United Kingdom Alliance, (known as the Alliance or UKA). This organisation was part of the temperance movement but acted both independently of and in conjunction with other temperance organisations. Although the idea certainly did not originate with the Alliance,¹ the attempt to prohibit the drink trade through legislative means was largely associated with this organisation. Other attempts to effect sobriety via legislation were also made during this period. This chapter will examine the Alliance closely, but will also review non-Alliance initiatives.

The temperance movement in 1853

What was the condition of the temperance movement at the time prohibition, ‘the most draconic interference with individual liberty’,² was first advocated by the United Kingdom Alliance in 1853? The movement was ripe for change. The influence of the moderationists had been severely curtailed by the early 1840s, leaving the temperance campaign largely to the teetotallers. However, their campaign for total abstinence had begun to lose momentum by the end of that decade as their objectives proved surprisingly (to them) illusory. Local temperance societies waned as the bid to effect sobriety through education and example proved slow in producing results. Ironically, the movement’s declining amateurism was partly responsible for the lack of success. Professionalism in itself was no negative thing. However, the profusion of temperance societies, leagues and associations, with their zealous committee men and professional agents, led to a corresponding reduction in the efforts of the amateur working men/reformed drunkards. The movement readjusted its focus and became increasingly unable and unwilling to reach the habitual drunkards as it concentrated on retaining the converts already gained. Livesey noted that ‘A society appoints a missionary, pays his salary, and then goes to sleep’.³ In 1867, he criticised the replacement of hardworking men/reformed drunkards on the temperance platforms by ‘some Lord or Reverend who neither abstains nor works in the cause’.⁴ The establishment of the Bands of Hope for juveniles in 1847 shows how the movement was increasingly trying to prevent rather than cure.

Evidence suggests that many temperance societies, especially the smaller ones, were struggling in the 1840s. They suffered from a lack of field-workers and funds and found themselves in a vicious circle. Their active members were too few to help the large number of needy. Converts were scarcer and drunkards were often not afforded the close accompaniment they needed. Without successful converts, additional active workers — reformed drunkards, were difficult to obtain. ‘Temperance Do-Nothings’ were slated in

The British Temperance Advocate in 1856, for not supporting the temperance press and for merely talking whilst others worked.⁵ George Lucas of the Woodhouse branch of the Leeds Temperance Society wrote a telling letter to *The Teetotal Progressionist* in October 1852 concerning the dire situation of his society and all the other branches of the Leeds Temperance Society. Given that 'out of every ten who sign the Temperance Pledge, seven violate it', he lamented that little progress was made because of the necessity for constant repetition of efforts to reclaim backsliders, with resultant discouragement for temperance workers. After ten years of 'great zeal and energy' only a few drunkards had been reclaimed and drinking 'somewhat deceased'. A nucleus of half a dozen workers were all that remained in his branch, 'almost driven to despair', lacking the support of drinkers, moderationists or the youth. He explained how the situation had been reversed. Fortunes had been revived through the establishment of a Temperance Hall and Mechanics' Institute which by combining education and teetotalism, 'Education giving the *light* to the mind, and Teetotalism imparting the *fire* to the heart', succeeded in attracting new recruits for teetotalism.

George Lucas' letter was followed by one touching on the financial problems of the movement. It referred to an urgent appeal from The London League, (established 1851), for £1,200;

[?] to enable them not only to meet standing liabilities incurred by their magnificent operations during the Exhibition of All Nations, but also to give them prowess and facilities for exposing the evils of, [*sic*] and struggling by a powerful agency to destroy the IMMORAL TRAFFIC in alcoholic poisons.⁶

The writer, a working man of London, offered a sovereign and encouraged the eighty metropolitan societies and two hundred provincial societies to raise funds also.

T. I. W., the anonymous author of 'Difficulties of Legislation'⁷, wrote in 1853 that the teetotaller's public image was one of the 'fanatic', where doctors and clergymen lacked

the courage to carry their convictions into practice. However, one important temperance historian, Henry Carter, unsympathetic to the Alliance, painted a different picture. Writing eighty years after T. I. W., he highlighted the *success* of the temperance movement in the 1850s. Thus, when the Alliance forwarded its new objective for the temperance movement in 1853;

[?] twenty-one years of unremitting advocacy had so permeated the country with physiological and moral teaching that the Total Abstinence Movement was genuinely national in scope, and its impact on public opinion was increasingly effective. 'The Reform' was prospering and progressing when in 1853 the United Kingdom Alliance placed before the Movement a new objective.⁸

Carter's words resemble the optimistic rhetoric so characteristic of the nineteenth-century temperance movement. According to him, the Alliance interrupted a steady march of progress by introducing a new objective (prohibition). Thus, the new objective was not a result of the ineffectiveness of moral suasion, as the Alliance claimed. Carter had an axe to grind. He confessed that he had appraised the situation through the eyes of the arch moral suasionist Joseph Livesey. Livesey was enthusiastically optimistic in the early fifties. He confessed that although 'all societies wane after a while', they could be revived. His glowing description of Preston Temperance Society's revival in 1852 meant 'progress had exceeded any since [the movement's] beginning in 1832'.⁹ The visit of an effective temperance advocate was sometimes all that was needed to galvanise a flagging society. The 'supine condition' of the Leicester Temperance Society in 1847 was changed dramatically after a three-week visit from Anne Jane Carlile. Over 1,200 pledges were signed after her addresses, and the initiative was taken up again by local man Edward Ellis and his wife.¹⁰

Carter backed up his revivalist affirmations with contemporary records of the larger temperance associations/leagues. For example, The British Association for the Promotion

of Temperance reported 'healthy and vigorous' activity by more than one hundred affiliated societies in 1853. The Western Temperance League, founded in 1837, was hard-working in the 1850s and claimed that every town and large village in the west had a teetotal society. Carter cast the Alliance in the role of meddler, not saviour.¹¹

It is difficult to gauge the true picture. The annual reports of the larger associations concentrated on the positive ? what they had achieved in the year ? and did not give an overall view of temperance in society. Temperance periodicals served mainly to bolster confidence and pass on information, and cannot be relied upon for unbiased reporting. The national and provincial papers gave scant coverage to the temperance movement in the 1840s and 1850s, only paying attention when a particular crisis reared its head, or legislation was proposed. The revival at Preston had a lot to do with the composition of the committee and local activists ('the reformed characters [?] are exceedingly zealous'). Just one energetic person could make a difference. Despite Preston's example, there is no doubt that the dream of national sobriety was a mirage to the moral suasionists. A stimulus was needed to galvanise the movement once again and this came from the United States of America.

The First Prohibition Laws

A role model was found in the State of Maine, USA. The first prohibitive State law, passed in Maine in 1846, proved ineffective because the penalties for infringement were too lenient and no provision was made for the destruction of the confiscated liquors. Under the auspices of the 'Generalissimo of Prohibition in America' Hon. Neal Dow, and General James Appleton, Maine enacted a more stringent prohibition law (known as the Maine Law) in 1851. It prohibited the traffic in all intoxicating liquors, except for

selected purposes. A salaried officer was appointed in each town or district to sell liquor only for medicinal or manufacturing ends. The officer was bound under heavy penalties, with sureties, to sell only in accordance with the law, to record every sale in a Public Book, and to have no profit from the business except his salary. The law authorised search, seizure and destruction of all liquors offered or kept for sale, without remuneration to the owner or keeper if found at fault. Other states had anti-liquor laws, but this act quickly became renowned because of its simplicity of application. Special features included speedy and certain penalties; difficulties of appeal; the removal of discretionary powers from magistrates; and the withdrawal from intoxicating drinks of all the sanctions of property. The act was approved by the Governor on June 2 and first enforced in the seizure and destruction of liquors on sale at Bangor, July 4 1852. Neal Dow, as the newly elected mayor of Portland, Maine, was in a prime position to enforce the new law vigorously, which he did. Effectiveness was secured.

[?] in a short time, the three or four hundred liquor shops previously open had ceased to exist as such, and many of them were quickly converted into places of useful business.¹²

A majority of the population ‘cheerfully submitted’ to the prohibition, according to the first report of the Executive Committee of the Alliance, in 1853. ‘The people rejoice in the Law and sustain it heartily’.¹³ The great decrease in crimes and committals for drunkenness in the states with prohibition was taken as proof of its success. The progress of prohibition all over the world encouraged its British supporters. For example, New Brunswick (a Canadian province adjacent to the state of Maine), under British sovereignty, entirely prohibited the sale of wine and spirits for purposes of beverages in 1852. (This was repealed in July 1856).¹⁴ In the 1850s, the Sandwich Islands had a prohibitory liquor law, as did Liberia. Temperance workers were active in British Canada, India, Holland, Norway and Sweden, among many other places. Table 1 on page 316 shows the dates of

adoption/repeal of prohibition in many American states at the end of the nineteenth century.

In 1878, Frederic Lees observed the last of Maine's State breweries in ruins, 'a decaying monument of vanished misery'.¹⁵ By 1886, he could write that even in the face of great hostility, the results were 'truly marvellous'.

The United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors¹⁶

The Alliance is not a temperance, but a *political* association; it does not dictate abstinence; does not interfere, or seek to interfere, with either private use or abuse; would not punish drunkenness as such, any more than passion; it simply asks that the Law shall deal *effectually*, as it now deals *ineffectually*, with the *Public Sale* of that which is a public snare, generating three-fourths of our crime, and creating the necessity for half our taxation.¹⁷

Origin

The connection between the British and American temperance movements dated back to the 1830s, as noted in previous chapters. The Americans, whilst first to establish anti-spirits societies, acknowledged their debt to Livesey regarding their adoption of total abstinence. However, it was the successful speaking tours of F. W. Kellogg and the Rev Lyman Beecher Stowe, sponsored by the London Temperance League, which 'sparked off' the Alliance in 1852-3.¹⁸ The progress of prohibition in the United States was monitored closely, providing ammunition for both pro- and anti-prohibition campaigners, depending on the fortunes of the American movement. The connection remained close up to 1857, for the Alliance up to that point lobbied for a Maine Law, in direct imitation of its American counter-part.¹⁹

Table 1
Dates of adoption/repeal of prohibition in America

Adopted	State	Repealed	Remarks
(1) 1846	Maine	1856	Re-enacted 1858.
(2) 1851	Illinois	1853	
(3) 1852	Massachusetts	1868	Re-enacted 1869; Repealed 1875.
(4) 1852	Rhode Island	1863	
(5) 1852	Vermont		Still in force [1899]
(6) 1854	Connecticut	1872	
(7) 1855	Delaware	1857	
(8) 1855	Indiana	1858	
(9) 1855	Iowa		Partial law only; re-enacted more completely 1883. In 1894, passed a law to tax the traffic and providing for local option.
(10) 1855	*Michigan	1875	
(11) 1855	Nebraska	1858	

(12) 1855	New Hampshire		Still in force [1899]; sale only prohibited.
(13) 1855	New York	[1856]	Declared unconstitutional.
1858	Maine		Still in force [1899].
(14) 1867	Kansas	1879	Partial law only.
1874	Rhode Island	1875	
1879-80	Kansas		Constit. Amendment; still in force [1899]
(15) 1885	South Dakota (then a territory)	1896	Continued in force by State, 1889; Repealed 1896.
1886	Rhode Island	1889	Constitutional Amendment carried and subsequently annulled.
(16) 1887	Alaska (territory)		Still in force [1899]
(17) 1890	North Dakota (territory)		Still in force under State law.

*In 1861 the law was amended as follows:— Manufacturing alcohol, 80 per cent, or over, to sell out of the State, and making cider and wine, and the sale of the same in quantities of one gallon or over, and manufacturing beer and the sale thereof in quantities of five gallons or over, not to be drunk on the premises, were excepted from the prohibitory law.

Rowntree & Sherwell: 1899, p. 123.

The founder of the Alliance was a Quaker cotton manufacturer, Nathaniel Card (1805-1856). Card was a nephew of George Birkett (1791-1848), who had helped establish some of the earliest English anti-spirits societies in Warrington, Manchester and elsewhere. He served an apprenticeship with Birkett and probably learnt about temperance while so doing. Born in Dublin, he moved to Manchester for business reasons in 1836 and gained a reputation for being a shrewd, intelligent and trustworthy professional. He was a member of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Society. Deeply affected by what he saw in Angel Meadow, a Manchester slum district, he resolved to ‘change the habits of the physically and morally deprived people’. After canvassing philanthropists and ‘men of influence’ of all creeds and parties, he held the first meeting of interested gentlemen at his Manchester house on July 20 1852. After a few more meetings and the establishment of a Provisional Committee²⁰, the new organization, the United Kingdom Alliance for the

Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors, was formally established in Manchester on June 1 1853.²¹ Its first public meeting and appeal for popular support was in October 1853. Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. (1797-1879), landowner and member of parliament, was elected President and remained so until his death.²² Alderman William Harvey was chairman until 1870, Nathaniel Card undertook the office of treasurer until his death in 1856, Thomas Holliday Barker was secretary until 1884, then Consulting Secretary until his death. Samuel Pope Q.C., a Nonconformist businessman and lawyer, afterwards Recorder of Bolton, was honorary secretary.²³ The Baptist minister and temperance historian Dawson Burns, Secretary of the National Temperance Society from 1853 and also a founder member of the Alliance, became metropolitan superintendent of the campaign.²⁴

Card was not 'a platform orator', but 'one of the most zealous and laborious workers for the Alliance and for many other good causes'. Although he died three years after the founding of the Alliance, and therefore had no influence on its development, Card's idealism and persistence ensured it a firm beginning.²⁵

Membership and structure

The Alliance never attracted support from the royal family. The bishops, senior members of the armed forces and aristocrats who supported other philanthropic ventures were generally conspicuous by their absence in Alliance circles. Sir Walter Trevelyan was a notable exception, as was the Roman Catholic Archbishop Manning (1808-92) and the Alliance's parliamentary spokesman in the 1860s Sir Wilfred Lawson II (1829-1906).²⁶ MP for Carlisle in 1859 and President of the Alliance from 1879, Lawson led the Alliance cause in the Commons for over forty years although 'he did not count himself as one of

them'. His aristocratic background was very different to that of the average prohibitionist, and according to Dingle, he was glad of Alliance backing when it suited his personal needs but not so ready to carry the torch for the Alliance on other occasions. The lack of a parliamentary alternative to Lawson made the Alliance somewhat dependent on him and afforded him considerable force in determining policy. He was highly regarded by the Alliance, however, for his parliamentary leadership, judgement and tact. Among temperance MPs in 1859 were John Bright, Richard Cobden, Joseph Crook and Frank Crossley. John Bright, although proudly presented by the Alliance and other temperance organisations as their supporter, (for example see references to him by Mark Hayler in *The Vision of a Century*), was nevertheless not totally convinced of the feasibility of prohibitive legislation, and Neal Dow expressed 'disappointment' with Bright in 1876. In 1883, his attitude was 'once more causing much dissatisfaction'.²⁷

The only other prominent titled Alliance supporter in the 1850s was the Earl of Harrington, a Benthamite Liberal who as Colonel Leicester Stanhope had given evidence before Buckingham's 1834 Select Committee. The Alliance, like the other temperance organisations, liked to highlight any connections with people from the higher social classes. In 1857, Lees said the men directing the Alliance consisted of '[?] one Earl, one Honourable, three Baronets, one Knight, an ex-Chief Justice, one Dean, one Chancellor, one Canon, three D.D's, one Mayor, and several clergymen, aldermen and councillors'.²⁸

The social background of Alliance subscribers has been analysed by Brian Harrison. Most came from the northern industrial counties, especially Lancashire. Manufacturers, particularly those in the textile industry, were the largest subscribing occupational group. Nonconformity and Liberalism provided by far the largest religious and political support.²⁹

All who approved of Alliance objectives and who contributed to its funds were considered members. No pledge or declaration was required as to personal habits, private convictions or religious persuasion. Thus, non-teetotallers were admitted. For example, Sir Wilfred Lawson was a personal abstainer famous for the wines provided at his table. This shocked the long pledged teetotallers of the late 1830s, and left him open to accusations of hypocrisy and inconsistency. Temperance associations in the 1850s required the practice of total abstinence as a primary *sine qua non*, (temperance by this time was virtually synonymous with teetotalism). However, the Alliance believed that an irresistible appetite for drink, when obtainable, may coexist with a sincere desire to banish it altogether. Drunkards were ‘most of them prohibitionists, but unfortunately not abstainers’.³⁰ Alliance membership policy bore fruits for within its first year 4,500 had enrolled. In 1855, the number was 21,000. This had increased to 30,000 eighteen months later and to 50,000 in 1857.³¹

The General Council, composed initially of two hundred members but containing five hundred by 1855, met once a year in Manchester. Sympathisers who were well known to the public were invited to speak, for example the caricaturist George Cruikshank. The Council elected the president, the ornamental vice-presidents and the real ‘muscle’ of the Alliance campaign: the Executive Committee. The Executive’s decisions were usually rubber-stamped by the Council, which quickly became too large and unwieldy to determine policy. The Executive assigned collective responsibility to its actions, making it a rather anonymous body. Executive members were usually re-elected by the Council, ensuring continuity of views. Power to nominate new members resided with the Executive. These were then endorsed at the annual meeting. It thus became a virtually self-perpetuating organ.

The Executive consisted almost entirely of Manchester residents with enough spare time and means to devote to Alliance affairs. Most were businessmen from Nonconformist backgrounds, unknown outside their locality. Their most significant weakness was a lack of familiarity with or understanding of Westminster, although this was partly overcome by the appointment of a parliamentary agent.³²

Alliance auxiliaries were encouraged in the early days. By 1857, there were 176. However, most were ephemeral and quickly disappeared. The Alliance campaign was national in outlook and did not address local needs. Therefore, although the auxiliary may have ousted an existing temperance group it was unable to fulfil its functions. By the 1870s only a small number remained, the most important being in London and Birmingham. Unable to influence policy and dependent on funds from the Executive, they became a source of friction to the Executive. They were increasingly seen as a drain on resources after 1870, when finances were low, and were marginalised by the Executive from this time.

The Alliance functioned largely through full-time, salaried agents/superintendents. Numbers increased steadily as funds permitted until the early 1870s, when about 30 were employed. By 1866, almost all of England and Wales was covered by the agency system, under the direct control/responsibility of the Executive Committee. The arrival of an Alliance agent in an area could energise a failing temperance society and revive disheartened temperance workers. In this way, the Alliance also encouraged total abstinence itself. By 1861, the Alliance agents had issued 60,000 membership cards, representing paid subscriptions, and was directly connected with over 1,000 temperance societies.

The district agents had a variety of functions. One was to publicise the Alliance and spread its message, especially at grass roots level. This was done mainly through platform

speeches and the distribution of propaganda material. They helped to organise large public meetings in the towns and cities, from which resolutions were sent to the government. Ordinary town gatherings were also addressed. It was not unusual for agents to speak five times a week. Caution is advised when reading Alliance reports of meetings, for they were not as frequent as the Alliance would have us believe. The *Alliance Weekly News* for September 21 1861 lists only 133 monthly meetings as having taken place, from Brighton to Glasgow, in July of that year.

Although great attention was paid to winning over the upper classes to the Alliance's ideas so that approval could filter from the top down, favourable grass roots public opinion was always highly regarded. Any change in public opinion in favour of prohibition was desired. The 1858 *Executive Report* noted open-air meetings called by working men in Salford, Manchester and Glasgow to 'discuss the public house system' and its effects on the welfare of the working classes.³³ It appears that the Alliance agents made little effort to contact the unskilled *residuum*, however. Subscriptions were canvassed and large subscribers persuaded to speak at meetings. Agents had responsibility for local electoral organisation, an increasingly important task, especially after 1872.

Overwork was commonplace for agents, and they often suffered from mental and physical strain. The opposition they encountered also contributed to this. Sergeant, the successful Alliance agent responsible for Yorkshire and Lancashire, reported Pontefract 'barricaded with maltkilns' by supporters of the traffic in April 1855. He nevertheless succeeded in forming a provisional Alliance Committee with 'a few friends'. In Snaith, he could not find a teetotaller, and the ministers were 'very cool, and would scarce receive our documents, having, no doubt, the fear of the maltkilns before their eyes'. In Thorne, however, the friends were 'cordial and active' and the response to his meeting was 'hearty and enthusiastic' leading to the enrolment of 'a number of members'.³⁴

Family life was often adversely affected by the frequent periods of absence. Despite these drawbacks, within the temperance world the position of Alliance agent was a prestigious one and there was no shortage of suitable applicants for vacant positions.³⁵

Objectives

On October 26 1853, the first aggregate meeting of the General Council approved a Declaration of General Principles drawn up by Alliance secretary T. H. Barker. The Principles (see Appendix 6) set out the Alliance objectives and have subsequently been published annually in the *Alliance Year Book*. They claim that the State should not protect or regulate any harmful trades, that the drink traffic should be prohibited because of its destructiveness to the individual and society, that past legislative history shows it is impossible to limit or regulate this traffic, that there is no justification for supporting such a morally corrupting and damaging trade, that prohibition of the liquor trade is ‘perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce’, and that the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would promote a progressive civilisation. Everyone is encouraged to work for a prohibition law ‘as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of Intemperance’.

As already mentioned, by advocating legislative means for obtaining a drink-free society, the Alliance diverged significantly from contemporary temperance associations, where moral suasion was the norm. The Alliance sought to suppress intemperance by suppressing the traffic. In other words, to stop the demand by preventing the supply. The other temperance associations sought to suppress the traffic by suppressing drunkenness and drinking, to terminate the supply by ending the demand. The other temperance societies relied on the individual’s capacity to persuade the drinkers to stop, while the

Alliance, relying on the legislature, appealed to people as citizens and electors to end the vice. Despite this difference of approach, the Alliance recognised that it had a common goal with other temperance societies. They were 'necessary supplements of each other's behaviour'.³⁶ In the Alliance's opinion, the temperance societies spread information and encouraged activity whilst the Alliance brought the political aspect to the fore, enabling through law 'the consolidation and preservation of the moral achievements of individual zeal and voluntary association'. The Alliance considered that the attainment of general abstinence via moral suasion would be good, but to take it as a precondition for legislative prohibition was to assume the impossible. As general abstinence was not attainable because of existing temptation, this had first to be removed by legal action.³⁷

The responsibility for intemperance was placed squarely at the door of the traffic. The Alliance demanded protection for the people, as the sale of intoxicating liquor was a public, licensed system and 'the proved source of three-fourths of our pauperism, crime and public burdens'. Protection entailed the total and immediate suppression of liquor sales through legislative means. The private and/or domestic use of intoxicating liquor, although acknowledged as a cause of intemperance, was of no concern to the Alliance. The other temperance societies were expected to counteract domestic use through moral suasion. The traffic was regarded as the main supplier of drink for private use, and therefore it was believed that the end of one would necessarily curtail the other. No reprimand was thought necessary to the man who brewed his own beer or imported wine from foreign shores: 'The Alliance did not seek 'legal interference with private life, habit, and custom'.³⁸

In order to sustain its political campaign, the Alliance needed adequate funding. In the period under consideration, 1853-72, it was always careful to act in accordance with its resources, but nevertheless concerns regarding the financing of future actions remained.³⁹ The Alliance relied on private subscriptions and bequests for most of its income. The district agents spent much of their time canvassing for these, especially for sums under £10. It was recognised that reliance on a large number of small donors was safer than reliance on a small number of large ones, and efforts were made not to 'throw the whole burden upon shoulders already overloaded'. Larger donations were usually solicited from the wealthy by men of high social standing. The annual general meeting in Manchester was an excellent opportunity to raise money, and a subscription list was handed round the audience after the usual appeal for funds. During the intervals between speeches, the large subscriptions from Trevelyan, Lawson, Whitworth and others were read aloud to encourage others to emulate the gestures.⁴⁰

One problem for the Alliance was anticipating revenue for the following year. This made long-term planning risky. One way to mitigate such difficulties was by starting a Special or Guarantee Fund. A sum was pledged, payable in yearly instalments, thus guaranteeing a minimum income over an extended period. In 1858, a Special Fund was created so that money would be available for any emergency, for example a surprise general election or damages awarded against the Alliance by the courts (as had happened in 1856). The timing was fortuitous, as money was needed for expenses incurred during the general election of the following year.⁴¹ In 1865, the General Council opened a Fifty Thousand Pounds Guarantee Fund to sustain political agitation for the following five years. The target of £50,000 was achieved, £40,000 being promised during the first year.⁴² The Alliance received a guaranteed income of around £10,000 each year between 1865 and

1870. A second five-year guarantee fund of £100,000 was started in 1871, which was also a success.

Table 2 on page 326 shows the expenses and receipts of the Alliance from its origin in 1853 to 1871, taken at three-yearly intervals. As aforementioned, subscriptions of one sort or another were the financial mainstay of the Alliance. Of the £900 in subscriptions received between the Alliance's establishment in June 1853 and the General Meeting in October of that year, just over half was made up of sums of £50 and £25, £113 being small subscriptions under five pounds. £9,517 was raised in 1856 but 19% of this total was proceeds from a seven-day bazaar held in Manchester (£1,943 profit was made overall). Obviously, receipts were affected by 'extra' sources of income of this kind. Legacies come under this heading. An especially large one of £1,300 was received in 1859 from the Quaker teetotal pioneer and one of the first Vice Presidents of the Alliance, Joseph Eaton (1792-1858).⁴³ Despite this bonus, receipts fell slightly in that year to £9,198. This was partly because of the increased propaganda expenses natural to an infant organization energetically promoting itself. In 1871, the Executive could congratulate itself on the fact that receipts for the year 1870-1 had exceeded the aggregate of any former year, and the balance in hand was higher than ever before.

Table 2
Financial position of the Alliance 1853-1871

	Receipts	Expenditure	Cash in Hand
1853	£900	? ?	? ?
1856	£9,517	£8,520	£997
1859	£9,198	£8,470	£728 ^a

1862	£7,657	£7,362	£295 ^a
1865	£8,733	£8,037	£696 ^b
1868	£14,404	£12,681	£1,723
1871	£17,142	£13,948	£3,194

Executive Reports

^aDoes not include Special Fund. ^bDoes not include Guarantee Fund.

The salaries and expenses of district agents rose from 14% to 16% of total expenditure from 1856 to 1859, and continued to increase in future years so that by 1871 they were 22%.⁴⁴ The drain on resources by agents and other salaried staff, including lecturers, was largely offset by increased subscriptions. They rose from £1,888 in 1856 to £3,307 in 1859. By 1871, they were £9,794, not including those from other temperance societies or auxiliaries.

Income was obtained from the sale of *Prize Essays*, tracts and pamphlets, but these items also incurred expense, sometimes a considerable amount. A negative balance on these items is recorded for the entire period in question. It ranged from around £35 in 1863 to £906 in 1871 (and over £1,700 in 1872). A similar tale can be told for the Alliance magazines ? *The Alliance*, *The Alliance News* and *Meliora*. An average annual loss from 1855 to 1871 of £384 is recorded. Gratuitous circulation of the magazines contributed to the overall debt. In 1856, this was £298 but in 1871 it had increased to £847. These organs of communication/propaganda were not intended primarily as finance generators, however, although a net profit would undoubtedly have been welcomed.

An election year obviously represented a drain on Alliance funds as a whole, even though part of the expense was covered by the Special/General Fund. Table 3 shows the results of the financial strain on selected items as a consequence of the election held at the

end of 1865. (The election expenses appear on the Alliance balance sheet of 1866). Large increases in each category can be discerned.

Table 3

Effects of the 1865 general election on Alliance funds

	1865	1866
General printing	£73	£330
General advertisements	£35	£730
Salaries & general expenses; district agent	£1,695	£2,589
Public meetings	£442	£1,001

Executive Reports 1865/6

Urgent appeals were necessary to ensure increased donations in these years. During the period under consideration, the appeals did not go unanswered. Donations rose from £4,485 from October 1 1864 ? September 30 1865 to £7,839 in the following election year.⁴⁵

Dr. Frederic Richard Lees (1815-1897)



Campbell, R., *Rechabite History*, p. 17.

Lees was the indisputable intellectual giant of the temperance movement. His oratorical and literary prowess was outstanding. Employed in 1854 as one of the first travelling lecturers of the Alliance and engaged by the Scottish Temperance League for a series of autumnal lectures, he was a major apologist of the organisation both in Britain and America. He paid three extended visits to the United States, in 1859, 1869 and 1875 where he met Neal Dow and was introduced to President Grant. (His 1869 visit was a financial disaster for he often lectured unpaid and sometimes even failed to receive expenses.) He was the British Temperance Societies' delegate to the World's Temperance Convention, New York, 1853.⁴⁶

Frederic Richard Lees was born in Leeds, the son of a wool comber then Radical schoolmaster Joseph 'Orator' Lees.⁴⁷ He was a weak, sickly child. Unable to attend school regularly, he read extensively at home until his tenth year (1825), after which he attended school at Bury for three years. A quick learner, he established two debating societies and became a part-time teacher there. Probably due to his father's connections, (he was a leading Leeds politician and one of the founders of the Leeds Political Union), Frederic became a keen Chartist. Apprenticed to a Radical solicitor, he never liked the legal

profession and although he completed his apprenticeship, he never practised. On inheriting private means, he abandoned it. He stood four times for parliament as a Radical, twice withdrawing at the last moment and twice splitting the anti-Tory vote so that each election ended in 'bitter recriminations'.⁴⁸

Lees was first attracted to temperance in 1830 on hearing a lecture by Dr. Beaumont of Bradford on 'The Nature, Uses, and Effects of Ardent Spirits'.⁴⁹ He signed an anti-spirits pledge in 1832 (aged seventeen) and the teetotal pledge in March 1835 after hearing Joseph Livesey and H. Anderton speak in Leeds. (Livesey gave his *Malt Liquor Lecture*). His own public speaking career began inauspiciously when he fainted on giving his first public speech in a Leeds schoolroom in 1835. However, he distinguished himself on June 21 1836 in a great discussion in Leeds on teetotalism, defeating 'the famous' Dr Williamson and other advocates of moderation. Thereafter, he became a great debater and studied all aspects of the temperance question; moral, social, religious, economic, scientific, legislative, biblical and linguistic. He was particularly interested in religion and the wine question, studying the matter from 1832 and consulting eminent experts in the field. He wrote voluminous works including Prize Essays on the sacramental wine question and prohibition of the liquor traffic. These have not been answered in any depth.⁵⁰ Winskill wrote of Lees' 'extraordinary mental powers'. Due to these powers, all his works were 'pungent, scholarly and logically conclusive', 'the armoury of temperance workers the world over'.⁵¹ According to Longmate, Lees' many written works, although 'intolerably prolix and tedious' to modern readers, were claimed by an admirer to help temperance advocates in their own debates and lecture tours by providing 'masses' of facts and figures as well as careful argument.⁵²

Lees favoured co-operation, and was one of the founders of the Leeds Redemption Society, a precursor of the Leeds Co-operative Society. However, like Livesey he did not

support Robert Owen, believing socialism had found its worst advocate in him. For Lees, the principles of Owen's system consisted of;

[...] a collection of puerile fallacies long since exposed, strangely united to a set of truisms of no practical importance, marshalled with an air of philosophic gravity, and which seemed to be staring themselves into profoundness.⁵³

Norman Longmate portrayed a different picture of Lees.⁵⁴ His negative opinion was probably coloured by the Gough v Lees libel case, (see page 331), when he sided with Gough. However, both are labelled as frauds. It was implied Gough lacked sincerity, as witnessed by his theatrical stage performances/temperance speeches, whilst Lees was portrayed as a vindictive, obstinate man, a second rate orator and author of voluminous works marred by poor style. His title of doctor was said to be undeserved, for he had no medical qualifications, only a 'worthless honorary doctorate of philosophy from an obscure German university, awarded for some entirely spurious "Biblical scholarship"'. At thirty years of age, he was described as 'gaunt, pale and hollow-cheeked'. The quote was selectively taken by Longmate from the biography of Lees written by his son, also Frederic, and omits the fact that although thus hampered by physical weakness, he was said to be 'possessed of a mental alacrity auguring well for the future'. Longmate continued: Lees was 'a little thin-faced, thin-bodied man, volatile as water and as easily agitated'.⁵⁵

His public speaking was marked by an overemphasis of words and 'a slightly pedantic peculiarity in pronunciation'. He felt every effort to injure or impede the progress of the cause as a personal insult and let no criticism go by without a full reply. Being well read, his lectures were wide-ranging, but the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* took exception to his lecturing in Lincoln on theology, his 'fanaticism' depriving him of the right to speak on church doctrine.⁵⁶

Longmate was not alone in his anti-Lees opinion. In 1859, *The Weekly Record* complained of;

[?] a school of forward and impertinent zealots [?] impatient of all discussion [?] intolerant of all heresy. These persons [?] disgust intelligent men and bring our cause into disrepute [?]. Of this party Dr. Lees has been the creator and the idol.⁵⁷

It should be noted that this newspaper was the official organ of the anti-prohibitionist National Temperance League.

The Gough/Lees libel case

The 1858 libel court case brought by John B. Gough⁵⁸ against Frederic Richard Lees allowed public attention to focus on an unsavoury squabble between two prominent figures of the temperance movement. However, the personal dispute also highlighted the divergences between moral suasionists and legal suppressionists. Gough had been sponsored in Britain by the N.T.L. and, as already noted, Lees was strongly associated with the Alliance.⁵⁹ Gough was anti-prohibition.⁶⁰ As principles and not only persons were involved, the case was attributed more importance than it merited. In 1904, Lees' son wrote of the 'regrettable' case and its 'evil effects' as 'almost forgotten', and no doubt would have liked to have left it that way. He did recount it in his father's biography, however, because it was 'part and parcel of Temperance history'.⁶¹

Initial animosity was created between the two men in April 1857, just before the start of Gough's second lecture tour of Britain in July, and at the start of a speaking tour by the American temperance giant and prohibition enthusiast, Neal Dow.⁶² The organ of the N.T.L. the *Temperance Weekly Record*, the *Glasgow Commonwealth* and the Scottish

Temperance League's *Journal* printed private remarks made in a letter from Gough to G. C. Campbell of London concerning the state of the Maine Law in America. He wrote;

The cause in this country is in a depressed state. The Maine Law is a *dead letter everywhere*; more liquor is sold than I ever before knew in Massachusetts, *and in other States it is about as bad*.⁶³

Gough later denied saying this. He claimed he had been misquoted and had not asserted the Maine Law was a failure, but rather that the law was 'a dead letter everywhere'.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, *The Times* and regional newspapers took up the case and spread the comments still further, insulting Neal Dow and gloating over the alleged failure of prohibition. The temperance opposition in general took full advantage of such an admission. For example, publicans hung up a copy of the letter on their walls. Much discomfort was created for temperance advocates and the Alliance felt obliged to examine the allegations, whilst at the same time playing down the 'unfortunate indiscretion'.⁶⁵ From a cynical point of view, the Alliance was trying to salvage Neal Dow's speaking tour. A more generous evaluation of Alliance action would see the organisation as simply defending its honour.

Lees, mouthpiece of the Alliance and never one to let any attack go by unchallenged, was unforgiving. He argued cleverly. If the Maine law's failure were accepted as true, that did not necessarily portend a failure in Great Britain, (municipal government was a 'wretched "failure"' in New York, but not so in Manchester or Southampton, for example). On the other hand, he went to great lengths to disprove Gough's assertions by quoting from temperance and other sources concerning the success of prohibition where it had been tried ? Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan and Iowa. Comments from the Temperance Convention held at Northampton, USA on June 8 1857 were

reiterated in his *One Hundred Objections*. They expressed surprise and regret at the assertions of the Maine Law's failure;

[?] because we know the law to be satisfactory to its friends, and a terror to the vendors of intoxicating drinks, many of whom have felt condign punishment under its operations, [?] because they betray haste in the wrong direction, and obviously tend to embarrass seriously the labours, and to diminish the efficiency, of noble friends of the good cause, who are urging on a most promising movement in other lands, in whose labors we sympathize, and in whose success our hearts rejoice.⁶⁶

In fact, prohibition *was* struggling in America. The New York State Court declared its prohibitory law unconstitutional in 1856, as did the Supreme Court of Delaware. Maine substituted its Prohibition Law for a stringent Licence Law in the same year, although prohibition was re-enacted in 1858.⁶⁷

Lees, who could have been accused of jealousy for he was generally considered an inferior orator to Gough, was nevertheless not alone in his criticisms.⁶⁸ As mentioned in chapter three, Gough's populist method of oratory and financial success seemed to rankle, and he was accused of turning the temperance cause into a 'commercial speculation in the hands of needy adventurers'. The re-opening of the refurbished Bradford Temperance Hall in 1879 is a case in point. Gough did the honours and £81 14s 3d was made. However, his expenses came to £56 14s 3d, nearly three-quarters of the income.⁶⁹ (In contrast, the American Neal Dow lectured in Britain unpaid).

Lees sought to discredit Gough by attacking his personal integrity, accusing him of being a secret drinker. The accusations were made in two letters written to a friend, William Wilson of the National Temperance League. Unfortunately for Lees, Wilson made the letters public and even sent a copy of one of the letters to Gough himself, who then sued for libel in an attempt to salvage his reputation and ultimately his speaking career. (Lees' son claimed that Gough was pressed into suing by the National and Scottish Temperance Leagues, for as Gough's tour sponsors they were anxious to prevent any

financial losses that may have occurred if he were discredited).⁷⁰ Gough won and Lees was left to pay costs and a nominal five guineas damages. He was helped by two public donations, the first of sixty guineas collected at a meeting in Manchester, the second an appeal raising 1,000 guineas that enabled him to buy his house (the grounds became a temperance tea garden after his death in 1897). He never accepted the outcome, however, and was still remonstrating two years later when he published *Final Words for History*, ‘a wearisome wilderness of underlinings, exclamation marks and parentheses, which would have provided material for a score more libel actions’.⁷¹

*The Alliance First Prize Essay, 1856*⁷²

In order to stimulate public opinion, the Alliance offered prizes for essays, the largest being £100. This was won by Dr. Frederic Lees, who wrote the 300-page work in less than a month, ‘on the pressing insistence of a gentleman we highly esteem’, inspired by ‘friendship and truth’.⁷³ His *Alliance First Prize Essay* makes a useful contribution to understanding the rationale of the United Kingdom Alliance. Republished many times, the three hundred-page essay, often referred to as ‘The Argument’, established the case for the prohibition of the traffic of strong drink by analysing and substantiating each of the seven points of the Alliance’s Declaration of General Council. It became the ‘text book’ of the Alliance.

In the preface of his *Prize Essay*, Lees reassured the public that they would not be coerced into abandoning drink altogether, for the formation of favourable public opinion was a prerequisite to the Alliance’s goal of total and immediate prohibition. The public had to recognise the evil of intoxicating drink before its removal could be effected. This would be achieved through education.

Lees was virtually the only temperance advocate to evoke political theory in support of legal suppression. Even so, his theoretical arguments occupied a small portion of his *Essay*. Facts and figures were much more prominent. In seeking to establish a politically sound basis for prohibiting the traffic, he first expounded theories of law and principles of government, stating the relationship between the individual and the state. He paid particular attention to the increasingly popular theories of Jeremy Bentham, 'one of the profoundest writers on Jurisprudence to whom this country has given birth'.⁷⁴ He correlated Bentham's general principles of law with the views of the Alliance, showing that they were in 'perfect accordance'.⁷⁵ No direct evidence of Bentham's approval of prohibition could be cited, for Bentham never openly supported a prohibitory liquor law. Nevertheless, Lees began with a number of quotes from *Principles of the Civil Code*, and attempted to square them with a prohibitory liquor law.

The sole object of Government ought to be the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number of the community.⁷⁶

If this could be shown to apply to a prohibitory liquor law, then Lees had a good chance of winning over many Benthamites to his cause. However, only by accepting the direct cause/effect relationship between alcoholic liquor, crime and poverty could temperance advocates present a prohibitory law as leading to 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. This was neither scientifically proved nor universally accepted in 1856.

Lees went on to quote Bentham's general principles regarding the principal function of government; to protect the individual from sufferings, which it did by creating various rights. By creating rights, the law created corresponding obligations, and therefore offences. It could neither command nor prohibit without restraining the liberty of individuals. The citizen, therefore, acquired rights but also sacrificed part of his liberty. Bentham believed that security had many 'branches', and that one branch had to give way

to another. Liberty ought to yield to general security, since it was not possible to make any laws but at the expense of liberty. The ‘Zealots of Liberty’ were criticised for claiming that it consisted in the power of doing everything which did not hurt another, for if this were so, claimed Bentham, then the liberty of doing evil would have to be conceded. Lees reminded the reader that the sale and purchase of intoxicating drink was limited as to persons, place and time. A number of restrictive laws existed but no compensatory benefit could be seen, only increased poor rates, general demoralisation and crime. As intoxicating liquors produced so much evil, Lees claimed it was only right to curtail the freedom of those drinkers who did not abuse, for the sake of the general good. This could be done by introducing one comprehensive prohibitory law in place of numerous ineffective restrictions, especially as this ‘would destroy (by reaching the cause) *seventy-five per cent of our crime* and the train of evils connected with its punishment’.⁷⁷

Lees quoted from *Principles of Morals and Legislation* concerning the principle of utility;

[...] such acts alone ought to be made offences, as the good of the community requires should be made so. The good of the community cannot require that any act should be made an offence, which is not liable, in some way or other, to be detrimental to the community. For in the case of such an act, all punishment is groundless.⁷⁸

Lees concluded that there were various ‘mischiefs’ that should be labelled offences, from open drains, polluting prints and lottery schemes to the village beershop, ‘tainted with tobacco and impurity, or a town’s Tavern, with its demoralization and disorder; or a temple erected to mighty Gin’. As the ‘cost and consequences’ of the aforementioned were ‘burdensome and baneful’, then ‘provided we have the power, we must have most assuredly the *right* of abolition’.⁷⁹

Some of Bentham’s indirect assertions were used by Lees to ‘prove’ that he would have been in favour of a prohibitory liquor law if he had been alive in the late 1850s. Thus,

when he called for the prohibition of the sale and fabrication of ‘poisonous drugs’, Lees believed that alcoholic drinks would have been included on the list.

In *Principles of Penal Law*, Bentham claimed that in hot countries, as wine incites ‘fury rather than stupidity’, it is more humane to prohibit than to allow its moderate use ‘which would have produced numerous offences, and consequently numerous punishments’. Lees did not miss the opportunity to add in a footnote that alcohol was equally responsible for crime in cold countries, implying that it should be prohibited in Britain for the same reasons.⁸⁰

Concerning the ‘inimical’ nature of the drink traffic for individuals and society, point 2 of the Alliance’s Declaration of General Council, Lees showed that the traffic in intoxicating liquor was anti-social and directly contravened all the conditions and duties of a state. He reasoned that it should therefore be prohibited. The evidence of the 1834 House of Commons Report on Drunkenness, (see chapter 3) was used to illustrate the dire consequences of intoxication, (destruction of health and grain, loss of productive labour, increase in pauperism and crime, etc.). Lees concluded that twenty years after the publication of the 1834 Report, and notwithstanding the ‘march of improvement’ in education and temperance moral suasion, ‘every word of that Report remains literally true’. In fact, the traffic ‘had extended its mischief’ due to the narcotic effects of intoxicating drinks. Other nations, especially America and Sweden, were praised for their investigations into the causes, extent and consequences of intemperance. Details of the baleful findings, especially related to crime, of the Select Committee of the New York Senate, on the Prohibitory Bill of 1853 were revealed.⁸¹

Lees underlined a basic Alliance tenet when he reiterated that the ‘*Trade of selling*’ was social injury. He claimed that as means were available to prevent the social injury, then they should be used. The most efficient means available involved the direct

prohibition of the traffic or the enforcement of strict penalties for transgressing restrictive laws, which would lead to its abandonment.

In chapter three of his *Prize Essay*, he again reiterated that the liquor *traffic* was the object of Alliance disapproval, not the public house, the publican or the drinker. The traffic was considered corrupting and injurious to both traders and purchasers. Pains were taken to show that the drink trade was not the same as other trades, especially regarding its vicious effects, and should therefore be considered 'out of the category of Free-trades'. This was put forward to silence the growing number of parliamentary free traders who wished to see no magisterial controls on trade, including the drink trade. An extended account was given of the intemperate state of the inhabitants of many countries, for example France, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Germany and Spain. England did not compare unfavourably with the continent, despite the prevalence of light wines on the latter. Facts and figures were produced to show the 'inherent tendency [of intoxicating drink] to generate excess and crime under the highest restraining influences'. Testimony was reproduced from judges, the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society and the representative of 500 Liverpool publicans to the 1853 Parliamentary Committee as to the terrible consequences of drunkenness and the great danger in opening up the trade: 'public morals would be outraged'.⁸²

The decrease in crime subsequent to the partial closing of public houses in England on Sundays, (Wilson-Patten Act 1854), and their total closure in Scotland, (the Scottish Public-house Act/Forbes Mackenzie Act 1853), was cited as evidence of the beneficial effect of reducing/stopping the traffic in strong drink. Testimony from clergymen, the Lords Provost of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Statistical Society and others was presented.

The history of legislation concerning drinking in Scotland, Ireland and England was traced and the inadequacy of the various attempts at regulation was underlined.⁸³ This

narrative of misfortune provided valuable data to temperance advocates and others, (The Webbs' *History of Liquor Licensing* bears a remarkable resemblance to this part of Lees' *Prize Essay*). The historical perspective was important to Lees' analysis, for he showed the futility of past legislative action and the necessity for a new, more radical approach.

In considering the question of private gain and public revenue as justification for upholding the traffic in intoxicating liquor, Lees concluded that there was no vindication whatsoever for it. He berated the breweries for their monopolistic tendencies (through tied houses) and reiterated the direct ratio between crime and strong drink. 'What is morally wrong cannot be financially right', he concluded. The moral aspects of taxation had to be considered for man was not '*merely* a tax-paying instrument'.⁸⁴ Figures were produced to show that a year of scarcity with prohibition was better than one of plenty without it, as the temptation to drink was largely reduced because of high prices and more limited access. Consumption of domestic goods increased as distilleries were stopped in 1809-10 and 1813-14. The reverse was the case in 1811-12, 1815 and 1817. He argued for direct taxation on goods (drink) to replace unfair indirect taxation, where the non-drinker was financially penalised. Savings would be made.

A prohibitory law ? armed with its proper penalties and powers ? would save £1,000,000 in the general cost of crime; would enable the government to lessen the standing Army; get rid of its increasing difficulties in respect to prisons, hulks, and penal settlements; divert at least £4,000,000 of the taxation, now levied on liquors and licensed houses, to articles already taxed, but articles of an innocent or useful description; and by saving the lives of 30,000 Taxpayers, now annually cut off prematurely, through the workings of the Traffic, for dead men pay no taxes, add immensely to the permanent resources of the Exchequer.⁸⁵

Prohibition of the traffic was trumpeted as the only measure that could effectively relieve the nation of an 'oppressive and increasing taxation'.

In order to prove that the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilisation, a wealth of statistical

information and personal testimony from the 1853 Commons Parliamentary Committee was produced. The ‘outward evils of the Traffic’ were revealed under the headings of drunkenness, poverty, ignorance, prostitution, disease, idiocy, insanity, brutal lust and crime. It was reiterated that by stopping the traffic, most of the evils would disappear and the propensity for a progressive civilisation would be increased. Lee’s forthright style coupled with the ‘evidence’ presented tried to browbeat the reader into agreement.

In his concluding argument, Lees blamed the drink traffic for the political helplessness of the working man. The lower classes were warned against public house agitation and agitators. Enfranchisement lay in their own hands.

He that drinks for liberty,
Faster binds all tyrant power;
And the *Traffic*’s cruel glee
But postpones the People’s hour.⁸⁶

The ‘wealthier and ruling classes’ were advised to perform one of the duties of capital and help to deliver the working classes from the Traffic. The temptation of the licensed traffic was described as the ‘immediate hindrance’ to their sobriety and consequent improvement. One cannot help but reflect on the reasoning behind closing all the drink-selling establishments, which would affect very largely the working classes, whilst ignoring the private consumption of strong drink in home or club. Home-brewed beers and imported wines and spirits were condoned, for their effect was not considered as nefarious as when the same articles were bought in a public house or some similar place. Cutting out the middle-man but leaving the thirst quenched by private means would have been a temperance experiment doomed to failure. Lees argued persuasively for the abolition of strong drink, but failed to prove that the traffic alone was to blame.

Lees’ target was the educated reader. His *Prize Essay* filled a gap in temperance literature by providing a reasoned, intellectual argument in support of the total prohibition

of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. There is no denying its initial appeal. The first edition of 11,000 sold out before the day of publication and a second edition of the same quantity was sold before the end of the year (1856). However, there was always the danger of merely preaching to the converted rather than actually converting. Although it was probably most valuable as source material for other lecturers, nonetheless, it was credited with gaining a few notable supporters for the Alliance, like Cardinal Manning.

It did not pass without censure. Lees replied to some criticisms in characteristic fashion in *One Hundred Objections to a Maine Law; being a Sequel to the 'Argument' of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*.⁸⁷ One example will suffice to indicate the dismissive tone employed.

The *Saturday Review* (said to be conducted by young graduates of Cambridge and Oxford), says that *we* know the essay to be *very ill written*. Either the reviewer has not graduated in Veracity, or else he is incompetent to understand plain English. There is a vast difference between an Essay that may be *better*, and one that is *bad*. Our graduate has forgotten his Grammar: changing the formula ? “*Good, better, best*” ? into “*Bad, better best!*” After spending 25 lines over this important fiction, he complains that we did not compress our ‘volume’ into a *thin* ‘pamphlet’ ? “which,” says this critic, “might easily have been done”! [The *Prize Essay* was 300 pages long].

The Alliance mode of operation

At the time of the Alliance’s establishment there were a number of reformist groups operating in England. They attempted to mobilise public opinion in order to persuade parliament to act in their favour. The Alliance copied their tactics, especially those of the Anti-Corn Law League, active in the 1840s. Some members of the early Alliance had been active in that campaign, for example Samuel Pope, J. H. Raper and Joseph Brotherton. In 1853, the Alliance had stated its object as ‘to call forth and direct an enlightened Public

Opinion' to procure prohibition.⁸⁸ One of the methods used to achieve this aim was the large public meeting.

A large gathering both attracted supporters and showed the government the strength of feeling for the cause. Alliance agents, as already mentioned, organised many such meetings. In 1855, more than 500 Alliance meetings were held in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. By 1888 this had risen to nearly 4,000 with an aggregate attendance of over a million. Figures can be misleading, however, for although a large number of meetings were held weekly, attendance varied from around 30 to between 80,000-100,000 at the mass demonstrations in London. Some people probably attended more than one meeting in a week, so attendance numbers did not equal membership. Figures were reported by temperance officials and were probably optimistic. Also, the vast number of smaller meetings of between 50 and 100 people were generally attended by people who were already temperance supporters, so the extent of conversion was more limited than it seems at first glance.⁸⁹

The printing press was considered an important instrument for spreading Alliance principles. Large numbers (millions) of tracts were distributed, especially up to the 1870s when finances were not so restricted. These were directed at both the general public and specific groups. Lees' *Prize Essay* and its *Sequel*, together with the *Report of the 1857 Ministerial Conference*, were widely distributed, for example.⁹⁰ The Executive Committee felt they should be delivered to 'every influential person in the UK'.⁹¹ Sales were increased and more people were reached by printing different editions of some popular works, like the *Prize Essay*. Library or drawing room editions targeted the upper classes, whilst cheap editions were intended for the lower ones. A series of monthly tracts were published from 1858 that covered the entire spectrum of Alliance argument. Thus, it was possible to collect a library of Alliance thought. Favourable articles from non-Alliance sources were

not neglected. An edition of 10,000 copies of 'an invaluable article' from *Fraser's Magazine*, September 1867, on 'The Alcoholic Controversy' was printed in 1868, for example.⁹²

The Alliance, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was the first official organ of the United Kingdom Alliance. First published on July 8 1854, it became the *Alliance Weekly News* from July 28 1855, with a weekly circulation of 650,205 during that year.⁹³ It became the *Alliance News* from January 7 1862 and expanded to eight pages on the remission of the paper duty at that time. Henry S. Sutton, a vegetarian poet and disciple of Swedenborg, was its successful editor for over ten years. Selling at only one penny and free to those who donated over ten shillings to Alliance funds, this weekly paper was of vital importance in spreading the Alliance message. The Alliance's magazine served its sympathisers more than it catered for the non-temperance reader, however. It was a link between the Executive and those in the localities, providing them with information and instruction. Press and parliamentary attacks on the Alliance were often printed in full together with their refutation. The more educated people were targeted by the Alliance's quarterly magazine *Meliora*, begun in 1858. Besides supplying literary articles, it gave marked prominence to social questions, and all aspects of temperance reform. The first number went through three editions, attaining a circulation of 8,000. The success could not be sustained, however, and it was discontinued in 1870.

The advent of a cheap press meant an increased circulation of national and provincial papers. In 1858, the Alliance claimed that all the major towns had at least one paper supportive of prohibition.⁹⁴ This was probably an exaggeration. Those papers that did report favourably on Alliance activities were generally provincial, Liberal ones with readers predisposed to Alliance policies. London papers up to the late 1860s were either

much more reticent about the Alliance, paying little attention to it, or were openly hostile. *The Times* and *The Economist* fell into the latter category.

In order to reach and influence vast numbers who did not read temperance literature or attend Alliance meetings, especially in the middle and upper classes, whole pages were taken in leading papers. In 1872, Alliance arguments, appeals, testimonies and lists of the leading subscribers to the £100,000 Guarantee Fund appeared in *The Times*, the *Standard*, the *Daily News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Echo*, and also provincial papers. In 1866, a full-page advertisement had been taken out in *The Times* to elicit contributions for the Five Year Guarantee Fund. It not only brought in contributions but attracted attention to the Alliance itself.⁹⁵ Later, advertising on this scale became financially prohibitive.

Extracting election pledges from parliamentary candidates was not novel, but from the 1857 general election, the Alliance used 'The Alliance Test'.⁹⁶ Drink-related questions were put to candidates, and Alliance members were urged to support only those giving favourable replies. The question put to candidates before the 1865 election was: 'Will you support a proposition to give to towns or parishes power to prevent the granting or renewing of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, when the owners and occupiers of property within the district vote by a majority of two to one to that effect?'⁹⁷ In 1857, the majority of Alliance-backed candidates were not elected, however, although 65 were returned who had expressed 'favourable sentiments'. (This was almost meaningless, especially as no prohibitive legislation had been introduced into parliament at that time). At Stoke, the Alliance candidate only retired after extracting pledges favourable to the Alliance from the other candidates. Lees' similar political activities have already been described in footnote 48. The Alliance Executive Committee was well aware of the limitation of hustings pledges, however, and preferred 'not merely favourable candidates' but 'competent and reliable advocates of the [permissive] measure'. The hostility of the

publicans, although considered to be exaggerated, was recognised as a formidable obstacle to any party wishing to adopt an Alliance man in 1861. Alliance supporters were encouraged to show great unity, zeal and activity in order to counteract any loss of such support to the political party concerned. At that time, any candidate with 'generally acceptable political opinions' who also had 'sound views' concerning the liquor traffic, was worthy of support.⁹⁸ Hindsight shows that once elected, the pledges were little heeded, however, throwing into question the advisability of such tactics. Bad feeling was sometimes caused, for some temperance supporters resented having to choose between their party preference and a candidate pledged to Alliance sentiments. The Alliance was greatly hindered until the 1860s by not having a strong advocate in the Commons or the Lords.

Education in prohibition principles, of both MPs and the electorate, was essential if success were to be attained. To this end, the Alliance printed addresses aimed at electors and non-electors alike, particularly before a general election. An 1859 Address, penned by the Executive Committee, was typical of such measures.⁹⁹ Advocating a Permissive Bill, it began by pointing out the altruistic nature of its mission by stating that the social, moral and intellectual elevation of the people was sought. Justification for its prohibition policy could be found in the cause of all the social ills in England ? the drink traffic. The financial argument was always a strong one, and so the figures popularised in Livesey's *Malt Liquor Lecture* were reprinted repeatedly ? for example, over £100m was wasted on drink annually. Eradication of the drink traffic would benefit everyone, for indirect taxes and other injustices caused by the drink trade were suffered by the whole population. The liquor system was 'a great burden' whose solution was to be found in prohibition. The oft-heard objection that a parliamentary act was impossible to attain was dismissed, for the example of the United States proved it was feasible. The Permissive Bill was a measure

designed to lead to the ultimate goal of a Maine Law, total prohibition, and was a step up the temperance ladder and not a deviation from original policy. An Alliance canvass of large towns and cities showed that there was great support for permissive prohibition, which encouraged the Alliance and 'proved' the people in some areas were already convinced of its merits. The democratic nature of the Permissive Bill was emphasised when it was underlined that a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority in favour was needed before any action could be taken. Provision for enforcement included the punishment of those (appointed paid agents or otherwise) unlawfully trading in liquor. This included the possibility of claims for damages against the sellers, from relatives of those adversely affected by drink.¹⁰⁰

The Alliance acted as a pressure group by sending 'deputations' to key parliamentary figures when necessary ? although it was not the only temperance association to do so.¹⁰¹ By pressurising individual MPs rather than converting the drunken poor, the Alliance believed more efficient, effective results could be obtained. In 1857, Home Secretary George Grey 'listened with courtesy' but was non-committal on Alliance proposals for a Permissive Bill. On the fall of Palmerston's government, the new Home Secretary Walpole was treated to the same solicitations, without success, for the government was too busy with 'political strife'.¹⁰²

The Radical activist James Hayes Raper, who began as a member of the Executive, was appointed parliamentary agent at a crucial time in 1860, when Gladstone was preparing changes to the licensing system. Receiving a salary of £500 a year, he stayed until 1878 before rejoining the Executive. He was very effective as a prohibitionist 'whip' and a superb orator, highly praised by many, including Sir Wilfred Lawson MP. The latter relied on Raper's intimate knowledge of the liquor question, his shrewdness and impeccable judgement as to tactics.¹⁰³

Petitions supporting the adoption of the Permissive Bill were encouraged by the Alliance, for they were believed to show the large amount of popular support for the measure. A petition from Plymouth with 12,000 signatures (allegedly $\frac{19}{20}$ of the population) was introduced into both Houses in 1861. The Alliance thought that by presenting overwhelming evidence of popular support, MPs would act. They displayed their political naivety here, and underestimated the power of the publicans. Counter petitions could always be produced, leaving politicians and others in doubt as to the real extent of public support for prohibition.

The Alliance was favourable towards efforts to influence particular groups of people, like medical men or magistrates. The latter determined how many licences should be issued in an area, yet they were unelected and usually did not live near a public house nor suffer the inconvenience of noisy disturbances and reduced property values. Their ability to assess the real needs of the local inhabitants was questioned, and they were often said to be acting as political appointees rather than as the guardians of local interests. Trevelyan pointed out that while they were keen to punish the poacher they were loath to penalise those who transgressed the drinking laws.¹⁰⁴

There was great inconsistency in magisterial practice too. Some, recognising a direct link between drink and crime, were alarmed by the situation they faced daily and agitated for restricting licences.¹⁰⁵ This was not the general case, however, thus the call to Alliance friends to express their discontent at licensing practices at the annual Brewster Sessions. They hoped to impress on the magistrates the great responsibility their power to license entailed, and to persuade them that they could be relieved of the burden by supporting permissive legislation that would transfer it to the local community.

Philanthropists were targeted too, especially through The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. The Association had influence with the government, and

it was thought that Alliance proposals would benefit from being discussed by the intelligentsia before being presented to parliament. After initial difficulty, (proposals were discussed with 'ill-concealed reluctance'), the Alliance was eventually regarded as a corporate member in 1858. Papers on the liquor question were increasingly read at the annual meetings. Lord Brougham MP, a vice-president of the Alliance from November 1861, was President of the Social Science Association in 1860, and gave favourable addresses on prohibition and the Alliance at the annual conferences. Temperance and prohibition were two of the most prominent topics discussed at the annual conference in Dublin in August 1861, and in 1871 a complete change of attitude could be discerned when two days were set aside to discuss the licensing laws.

Increasing the number of pro-prohibition voters in the general public was a priority for the Alliance. Registration was the keyword here. The Alliance sought to weaken the drink trade's electoral power by getting as many people registered for municipal and parliamentary elections as possible: 'The Registration Court is the highway to the House of Commons'.¹⁰⁶ Owning a public house or beerhouse was a voting qualification that had to be neutralised.¹⁰⁷ Agents checked electoral lists for anomalies and eligible sympathisers were helped to register. Voters were encouraged to affirm their support for a suitable candidate, for a parliamentary candidate could not be expected to relinquish the support of the drink interest without its being substituted for one of similar weight.

It cannot be expected that a member will imperil his seat, by doing more for the temperance men than the temperance men are disposed to do for themselves.¹⁰⁸

An extension of the franchise was seen as beneficial to Alliance objectives. In the agitation leading up to the Second Reform Bill of 1867, the Alliance stated: 'A Reform Bill [?] must strike at the root of publican domination, and must therefore be an important Alliance gain'. The belief was that by diluting the voting power of the publicans through a

large extension of the franchise, parliamentary candidates would be freed from their publican dependency and be more easily persuaded to support prohibition.¹⁰⁹

Alliance policy was not to interfere in municipal elections, however. It would have been too expensive to fund campaigns in every locality, and problematic to decide on which to concentrate. Local friends of the Alliance were left to fund municipal electoral action, whilst Alliance funds were used for national political effort.¹¹⁰ Permissive Bill Associations were set up in large towns after 1857 to take direct local action in national and municipal elections, enabling Permissive Bill sympathisers to gain power. Manchester, Salford and Bristol were three examples. Temperance associations in general were working towards the same end, and in 1880, the mayors of twenty-seven English cities and boroughs were total abstainers. In 1860, Edward Baines was the only abstaining MP, but in 1885 there were forty total abstainers in the Commons, in 1906 there were 150.¹¹¹

Many temperance advocates favoured a modified licensing system and campaigned energetically, for example, for Sunday and earlier weekday closing. The Alliance, on the other hand, held a fundamentally different view. Believing that the trade was essentially evil and dangerous, it worked for its entire elimination. Improving and enforcing existing regulation was considered important, but not paramount. It was 'not the sword with which the monster can be slain' but it might decrease the intensity of the temptation and cripple the power of the traffic. In other words, it might reverse the upward trend in the number of licensed drinking places: between 1853-60 licensed houses increased from 89,963 to 93,066, and beerhouses from 42,726 to 43,435.¹¹² In 1857, the N.T.L. had overtly criticised the Alliance for the defeat of Gaythorne Hardy's bill by 33 votes: 'the measure might have been carried if it had received more energetic support from the Temperance party'.¹¹³ The lack of Alliance support in 1861 for a government proposal to introduce a new licence for wholesale spirit dealers perplexed many, including politicians.¹¹⁴ Whilst recognising that

the measure mitigated against the pernicious effects of the public house and restricted access to spirits, the Alliance believed that the liquor trade would benefit from the proposed new licences. Parliament was pressurised to take action against the entire traffic instead of taking a piece-meal approach.¹¹⁵ The Alliance was consistent in its policy to the end of the century, but many temperance advocates despaired of such negative attitudes to partial progress.

Criticisms of Alliance policy

Opponents of the Alliance criticised its initial Maine Law policy for various reasons. These are ably set out and answered by Lees in his *One Hundred Objections*, first published in 1857. Only the main objections will be referred to here.

It is important to state initially that Lees recognised that drunkenness was a problem in every social class. He did not believe in the ‘alleged abstemiousness’ of the upper classes ‘as a class’, much less in that of the traders and professional men. However, the influence of drink was feared more in the working classes than any other, for it was from there that ‘the great social danger and injury must be dreaded’. However, the Alliance, by focussing as it did on the excessive drinking of the largest and most unstable class, could not help but appear partial. Dependent on the higher social classes for financial assistance and parliamentary support, this was probably the best strategy it could have adopted, however.¹¹⁶

Lees countered one of the major objections to a prohibitory law in a perfunctory manner. Prohibition was accused of infringing personal liberty. In *On Liberty*, John Stuart Mill, for example, was scathing about a Maine Law which for him was a question of freedom and not of trade. For Mill, lessening government control increased personal

liberty. A Maine Law therefore reduced liberty. It was blasted as a ‘gross usurpation upon the liberty of private life’, based on a ‘monstrous’ principle of social rights. Mill claimed that Alliance advocates, in the name of preventing intemperance, asserted;

[?] an unlimited right in the public not only to prohibit by law everything which it thinks wrong, but, in order to get at what it thinks wrong, to prohibit a number of things which it admits to be innocent.¹¹⁷

For Mill, there was;

[?] no violation of liberty which [the principle on which the Maine Law was based] would not justify; it acknowledges no right to any freedom whatever [?]. The doctrine ascribes to all mankind a vested interest in each other’s moral, intellectual, and even physical perfection, to be defined by each claimant according to his own standard.¹¹⁸

He did admit that although the sellers of strong drink were necessary, for they provided an article for legitimate (as well as illegitimate) use, their interest in promoting intemperance was a real evil. There was justification, therefore, for the state to impose restrictions and require guarantees ‘which, but for that justification, would be infringements of legitimate liberty’.¹¹⁹

Lees did not address Mill’s arguments directly. The first edition of *One Hundred Objections* was published in 1857, two years before Mill’s *On Liberty*, but numerous revised subsequent editions were published that could have addressed Mill’s opposition.¹²⁰ He quoted Blackstone’s affirmation that man’s liberty was not unconditional when living in society. It was emphasised that a Maine Law would not contemplate private acts, but restrain or prohibit ‘a public mischievous trade’. No private habits would be affected and domestic sanctuary would not be invaded.¹²¹ A Maine Law would demand ‘a *minimum* of sacrifice for a *maximum* of good’. These values are obviously very subjective. He quoted Carlyle’s stinging attacks on the despicable state of the pauperised, uneducated, over-taxed and dirty nation due to misguided notions of ‘British liberty’ and emphasised that the

damage to the nation's health and finances, plus the personal insecurity and disgrace, did not justify a policy of unlimited access to intoxicating liquor.¹²²

The charge was made against the Alliance of advocating an extreme, coercive, measure and repudiating moderate ones. For example, William Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, made a celebrated attack on the Permissive Bill when he declared in a parliamentary debate of the government's Intoxicating Liquor Licensing Bill, 1872, that it would be better that England were free than compulsorily sober. Freedom was preferential because 'with freedom we might in the end attain sobriety; but in the other alternative we should eventually lose both freedom and sobriety'.¹²³ The charge was described by Lees as a 'total and terrific blunder'. The reader was referred to the second article of the Alliance constitution where its object was stated as being to create an enlightened public opinion with a view to total and immediate suppression. As a nation legislated according to its opinion, public opinion had to change before the law did so. That opinion could not be coerced. It was never believed that 100% agreement on prohibition could be attained, however, and many feared a coercive majority in a local democracy, in a still undemocratic state. Lees countered the moderation argument by stating that the traffic was a total evil, so its entire removal was desired, not only part of it as more moderate reformers wished, (for example, those favouring Sunday closing, gin palace or beerhouse removal, etc.) As no one would fight for only the partial removal of anything considered evil, or the deferment of its removal to a future time if it could be achieved sooner, so it was with the traffic. Its complete removal was demanded immediately.¹²⁴

Some accused the Alliance of substituting the arm of the law for the failure of teetotalism and the pledge; attempting to make people sober by Act of Parliament. Lees addressed this in three parts. Firstly, he characteristically analysed the wording of the statement closely and stated that a Maine Law aimed at *preventing* drunkenness. (It would

not *make* people sober, therefore, but *keep* them so). Secondly, he reminded the reader that parliament had interfered with alcohol consumption for centuries through licensing and policing. A Maine Law was a novel approach, therefore, but not absolutely innovative. As the current licensing system increased crime, debauchery and irreligion it should not remain unchanged. Thirdly, and here he was speaking subjectively although authoritatively, he flatly denied that teetotalism and the pledge had failed. Millions had been convinced by the temperance argument, the drinking customs ‘of classes amenable to moral considerations’ had been modified, and tens of thousands of former drunkards had been reclaimed and blessed. Also, the message as to the cost and burden to the nation of intemperance had permeated the whole of society and would shortly be manifest in a demand for protection. He underlined the fact that ‘the very Patriarch of Teetotalism’ Joseph Livesey, the strongest of moral suasionists, earnestly preached prohibition in the 1830s.¹²⁵

Addressing the problem of enforcing laws in cases where large numbers of the community were disposed to break them, Lees recognised the difficulty but not the impossibility. The backing of the ‘best and highest’ enfranchised of all classes, and a popular majority, would ensure the law was observed as easily and fully as any other. He believed there was a ratio of 99:1 in favour of the Maine Law ‘in any large popular assembly’ at that time (1857). The difficulty would not be found there, but with the ‘less patriotic and more conventional orders of society’. Belief in the reliability of popular support was shown to be sadly misplaced in future general elections, when pro-Alliance candidates were often soundly beaten at the polls despite professed popular support. There were parallels with the Chartist movement in this respect.¹²⁶

The charge that a prohibition law was a return to the sumptuary laws of former, unenlightened times was rejected as contrary to the truth. Lees argued it was the very

opposite for it did not touch private life at all. (The sumptuary laws made no distinction between public and private life). It did not dictate what people ate or drank *at home*, or how they should be clothed. On the contrary, the considerations that condemned the sumptuary laws recommended the prohibition of the drink traffic. When law ‘attacks mere luxuries and dictates limits to private taste and adornment ? it touches the springs of human development, and arrests the progress of art, science, and discovery’. However, when it simply suppressed public temptations to drunkenness it merely opposed human degradation, diverting physical and mental power into art and science, augmenting the national resources. It was a law worthy, therefore, of the most enlightened age.¹²⁷ Lees held a common temperance assumption here, by supposing that anyone stopped from drinking would channel his time and energy into positive diversions. This was not necessarily so. He later belittled those who would substitute alcoholic amusements for popular recreation, citing the difficulty of substituting alcohol with museums, reading rooms and so forth without eliminating the traffic in strong drink. While the least temptation was present, drunkenness would persist.¹²⁸ Lees did not defend the idea that a lessening of public drinking without a concomitant attack on home consumption would be sufficient to oppose human degradation, but he left the attack on domestic consumption entirely to other agencies, thereby lessening its importance.

When confronted with the charge that it was unfair to prohibit the rational use of an article because others used it without moderation, Lees reiterated that the Alliance was not a teetotal society, but a political association. All were free to brew their own beer or drink their own wine. He objected to ‘the brewing of *mischief*’, not home brewing. The public temptation to drink was the object of removal not the private one. It was useful for Lees to differentiate between the temperance associations acting through moral suasion and the Alliance. By emphasising the differences between the two branches of the temperance

movement, the Alliance could distance itself from the poor success record of its 'co-workers' and highlight its new approach.

The Maine Law was opposed because if its principles were accepted, they could be extended to other circumstances indefinitely, which some thought would clearly not be in the nation's interests. Lord Derby believed the Permissive Bill differed little from religious persecution. 'It would be just as reasonable to lay it down that where two-thirds of the population of any district were Protestants, no Catholics should be allowed to open a place of worship'.¹²⁹ W. Fox MP stated that he might as well be asked to support a law that would prohibit the sale of machinery, on the grounds that it sometimes maimed and killed, as to support a Maine law. The 'false analogy' was quickly dismissed by Lees. He reminded Fox that legislation was only used to correct great evils, for the smaller ones had other remedies. The magnitude of the evils caused by the traffic far outweighed those of machinery and deserved to be addressed by law. Machinery provided vast benefits to mankind and was already legally obliged to be boxed and guarded. It did not invite the introduction of arms, legs etc. the fault being therefore with the person and not the machine. It did not deserve to be abolished 'on account of a few evils to which its working [was] liable in the case of careless or besotted persons'. (In blaming drink and neglect for accidents, Lees omitted the role of faulty machinery, tiredness, misuse through ignorance etc.) Lees believed the same could not be said for the traffic of intoxicating liquor that maddened and seduced the partaker, especially the weak, ignorant and wicked. Gin was not, like machinery, society's 'great good and social necessity'.¹³⁰

In reply to accusations that a Maine Law conflicted with free trade principles, Lees lauded fair trade over free trade. What was injurious should not be free, otherwise free trade in opium as well as in corn could be proclaimed.¹³¹ He had argued in his *Prize Essay*

that the drink trade was not the same as others because of its terrible effects, and therefore should not be considered in the same category as other trades.

Lees claimed that the Maine Law did not destroy property, as asserted, except for property that had first injured society and was thus dispensable. The analogy with the slave trade was made concerning interference with vested interests. The assertion in parliament that it would interfere with £14,000,000 of annual trading capital, would 'ensure the decay of Britain and leave London in a heap of ruins' was no justification for keeping the slave trade. Similarly, vested interests could not justify maintaining the destructive liquor traffic. Besides, a Maine Law only interfered with those that first interfered with the higher interests of the community: '*loss* is the righteous retribution of reckless and immoral barter'. Here, Lees forgot the legal sanction given to drink sellers and condemned them all (good and bad) for the trade they had chosen.¹³²

The Maine Law was accused of being class legislation which would be passed by the wealthy but operate mainly among the poor. Suspicion of the Bill was fuelled by memories of the 1855 Sunday Trading Riots in Hyde Park. People were well aware of the potential fury of the workers against perceived class legislation. The class legislation supposition was roundly dismissed by Lees for the law would apply to all classes and all would be penalised in the same way. For its implementation, a majority of the *whole* population would be needed (not strictly true, as only ratepayers were contemplated as voters in a Maine Law referendum). Its revolutionary characteristics were underlined.

It is the 'equality' of prohibition, dictated by an enlightened 'fraternity' in the exercise of the prescriptive 'liberty' of franchise.¹³³

In reply to the charge that the effects of a Maine Law would be different, given that the wealthy would be better able to indulge their drinking appetites at home (for example, through importing wines), he replied that the power of wealth was responsible for that

situation, not any partiality in the law. Given the facility afforded the wealthy man, was the law to make everyone equally rich? This was obviously preposterous. The alternative suggested for the poor man was to brew his own beer, 'if beer he *must* have', which was also safer as it was guaranteed to be unadulterated. Lees disregarded the social function of the drink-seller, believing that people would fulfil their 'sensual gratification' at home. This would not necessarily be the case. Here, the teetotal moral suasionists showed themselves to be more realistic, insisting on the creation of alternative recreational pursuits outside the home for the working man in the absence of the public house, beerhouse etc.¹³⁴

Many other objections to a Maine Law were addressed by Lees in his 116-page work. He felt it necessary to answer every question, even the smallest, in defence of the cause he so strongly supported. His pedantic tone and the profusion of facts and figures mean there is a danger of overloading the reader. As with his *Prize Essay, One Hundred Objections* was probably most useful as a reference work for temperance orators. It is nevertheless an interesting compilation of argument and counter-argument written at a formative time in temperance history.

Criticisms of Alliance policy were not restricted to opponents of the temperance movement. Many teetotalers regarded Alliance policy as almost heretical for it was accused of being only anti-trade and not anti-drink. The hostility of the N.T.L. and Scottish Temperance League, for example, has been referred to in reference to the Gough/Lees libel case. The Alliance usually took the high ground when replying, and certainly did not extend an olive branch in any meaningful way, as seen in the following statement printed in *The Alliance*, April 14 1855.

It is not to be supposed that these allegations are altogether unfounded [?]. We are not, and have never pretended to be, a teetotal society. We have one object in view, ? the prohibition of a noxious traffic, and we stick to that, and shall stick to it still.¹³⁵

It is interesting to note that the Alliance was surprised by the non-co-operation of some its fellow temperance workers. This can be seen, for example, in the protracted public exchange of ideas with Joseph Livesey (see page 365). Surprise showed naivety on the Alliance's part, for co-operation was difficult to attain when goodwill was not mutual. For example, by 'respectfully' declining to insert a report of a temperance meeting because 'we do not insert reports [?] which have no reference to the Maine-law', the Alliance was courting dissatisfaction.¹³⁶

Hostile lecturers like W. A. Pallister of Leeds voiced opposition from the platform. Anti-prohibition teetotallers like Pallister could be damaging to the Alliance if their convincing arguments went unchallenged. If they were considered worthy opponents, a challenge would be offered for a public debate.¹³⁷ Pallister, considered to be an opponent 'from honest conviction', was later accused of only being interested in lining his own pockets. This resulted from the difficulties encountered in arranging a public debate between himself and the Alliance agent G. E. Lomax. The debate never took place.¹³⁸ Professor Laycock of Edinburgh University presented a serious challenge to the Maine Law adhesionists when he gave a series of lectures on the subject, for he had the weight of academe behind him. Lees took up his challenge.

A change of approach: The Permissive Bill

Policy divergences in the temperance movement had been camouflaged initially, as emphasis was given by the Alliance to obtaining support for the *principle* of legal suppression rather than the means of obtaining it. Thus, in the early days of the Alliance, prohibition was welcomed by the vast majority of temperance workers and hailed as a short cut to reversing the 1830 Beer Act, to closing the gin shops, and to obtaining a drink-

free society. As stated previously, disillusion was creeping into the temperance movement as the realisation of objectives pursued through moral suasion appeared no nearer to achievement. Joseph Livesey had joined the Alliance, although as early as April 1853 he foresaw difficulties for legislative suppression because of a non-supportive House of Commons. Abstinence should have its 'bold and fearless advocates' in the House of Commons, he warned, for at that time those engaged in the drink trade were still regarded by MPs as 'a respectable body of men', their support being indispensable at election time.¹³⁹

The fluctuations in the fortunes of the Prohibition Movement in the United States contributed to a change in Alliance policy in the late fifties. As previously stated, Maine went from Prohibition to a licensing system in 1856, restoring Prohibition in 1858. A similar ebb and flow marked the progress of Prohibition in the other American states. The *Alliance Executive Report* for 1857 attempted to minimise the significance of the American experience. It affirmed that the difficulties were a product of circumstances peculiar to the Union. For example, the relationship between Federal and State law, (in Michigan the federal fiscal regulation overrode the State prohibition), or the elective nature of judicial power whereby judges were elected on a party political basis and may be pledged *not* to implement prohibition. These considerations did not apply to Britain. Nevertheless, Alliance leaders realised that in the 1860s a Maine Law was not a practicable measure for attaining the ultimate goal of national prohibition. The question of *how* the total and immediate suppression of the traffic could be achieved in the United Kingdom persisted, however, and in 1857 the Alliance replied: by legislative policy through the passing of a Permissive Bill. This involved the virtual abandonment of the demand for 'immediate legal suppression' and marked a decisive point in Alliance history.¹⁴⁰

The Alliance had been concerned to establish the principle of legal suppression before advancing with a detailed policy for its implementation that could be attacked by the opposition. Hence the commissioning of a *Prize Essay* in 1856. In 1857, the Alliance claimed that public opinion was sufficiently favourable to allow more precise measures to be outlined. 'A definite policy and object is needed now' reported the Executive Committee to the General Council in 1857.¹⁴¹ A Permissive Bill meant that a two-thirds majority vote by local citizens could lead to a prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor for common purposes in the locality. The justices would have the power to appoint an agent who would sell for purposes declared legal by the Act. In other words, the 'immediate' and 'total' suppression were replaced by 'permissive' and 'local' – a definite change in policy, although the final objective remained the same; the complete legislative suppression of all traffic in alcoholic beverages. A copy of the Permissive Bill was sent to all the temperance organisations in the United Kingdom. 540 societies in England, 180 in Scotland and 140 in Wales approved it and pledged themselves willing to aid with petitions. On the other hand, 12 English and 6 Scottish societies disapproved of it.

Ironically, the permissive idea was first mooted in 1855 by the brewer Charles Buxton in an article for the *North British Review*. He advocated a five-sixths majority of ratepayers should enable the entire extinction of all drink-selling places in a parish. In 1864, he expressed regret for his article during a Commons debate on the Intoxicating Liquors Bill.

The Permissive Bill was designed to avoid the pitfalls of the Maine Law. By relying on local rather than national consent, it aimed at majority approval in each locality. By introducing prohibition in stages, it would also minimise any revenue shortfalls to the Exchequer due to a drastic loss of drink taxes, and lessen commercial difficulties.

Two aspects of the Bill can be highlighted: firstly, a demand for prohibition and secondly one for local self-government to carry this out. These demands attracted varied support. Some people in 1857 still feared instability caused by a discontented working class, and believed advances in political democracy were endangered by self-interested drink manufacturers and religious apathy. Cardinal Manning, a strong prohibitionist, believed that the untreated drink curse would lead to class conflict by creating ‘a heaving, seething mass of discontented, disaffected, moody passionate socialists; regarding the rich with hate, brooding over the “tyranny” of capital, and ready to bury the social edifice in ruins’.¹⁴² The blame for social division was pinned on neglectful capitalists and drunken workers.

Businessmen expected to benefit from prohibition. A sober workforce would be more productive, and more affluent workers would enlarge the domestic market. This in turn would stimulate production. Some working-class leaders such as Thomas Burt supported the Alliance, believing that a sober work force would be less susceptible to employer manipulation. A sober working class would be better able to organise itself and defend its own interests. Many artisans and members of the lower middle class believed that personal sobriety, easier to achieve if the temptations of drinking establishments were removed, would facilitate their upward mobility.¹⁴³

The decentralising aspect of the Permissive Bill attracted several politicians, especially F. W. Newman, who was concerned about the increasing amount of work for parliament and the decline in local initiative.¹⁴⁴ (As early as 1834, critics of the New Poor Law had focussed on its excessive centralisation.) Decentralisation also attracted those who believed local attitudes to the drink question varied so much that uniform national legislation was inadequate. There were also supporters who preferred introducing experimental legislation on a piecemeal basis before adopting it nationally.¹⁴⁵

Some were attracted by the Permissive Bill's democratic aspect. As a consequence of class segregation in the Victorian city, licensing magistrates frequently resided in areas where few drinking places were needed, (the upper classes resorted to private drinking from private cellars or clubs and did not rely on public drinking places). Thus, magistrates were accused by respectable working men in poorer districts of granting liquor licences only outside their area of residence, favouring their own property and convenience. A bill that empowered rich and poor alike to decide whether the existing licensing system should continue or not was welcomed. However, as previously mentioned, only ratepayers were contemplated with the vote on prohibition, leaving a large number of people with no say in the matter.

It was argued that as drunkenness increased the rates as well as injuring the morals of the people, the inhabitants in each district ought to be allowed to protect themselves by having power to prohibit or limit the common sale of intoxicating liquors. A direct popular vote on the question was the most effective means to this end. The alternative of allowing Town and County Councils to control the liquor traffic would complicate local elections, to the prejudice of other matters. It was argued that such an important issue required the direct and distinct expression of local opinion. Also, the advocacy of permissive legislation would benefit the population (especially moderate drinkers) by allowing their instruction on the immorality and crime of the liquor traffic during the periodic run up to voting.¹⁴⁶

The Permissive Bill

Table 4

Majorities against the Permissive Bill

	Majority against
--	---------------------

	Permissive Bill
1864	257
1869	106
1870	31
1871	72
1872	*No vote

*The Bill was 'talked out' without a division.

Executive Reports 1869-70 & 1870-71

The Permissive Bill was introduced into the Commons annually by Sir Wilfred Lawson from 1864 to 1879, except between 1865-8 when he lost his seat in parliament. Lawson's persistence was not always appreciated. Julian Goldsmith, Member for Rochester, declared that 'the hon. Baronet had no right to come there year after year wearying the House with his oft-repeated arguments in favour of that wretched bill'.¹⁴⁷ The majority against the bill up to 1872 can be seen in table 4 above.

The great strides made from 1869 to 1870, when the deficit was reduced by 75 votes, was greeted with great rejoicing by the Alliance and its supporters. Success seemed to be imminent. The reversal suffered the following year was blamed on the 'unprecedented pressure from the liquor interest upon members of the House of Commons'.¹⁴⁸ It was to be expected that the powerful drink interest would mobilise against Lawson's bill when voting figures took it out of the realm of fantasy to which it had been confined. In 1873, the reversal was confirmed when 90 voted for the bill, 330 against.¹⁴⁹

Petitions were used to support the measure. In 1871, for example, about 4,000 bearing nearly 900,000 signatures were presented to the Commons. On this occasion, there were 270 presented against, bearing around 84,368 signatures. Public meetings were also held in support of the Permissive Bill. Supporters sometimes had to contend with opposition from the Licensed Victuallers' Association or others, who used a variety of stratagems to defeat their 'enemy', ('packing' the meetings, heckling, etc.). The Alliance

could proudly boast of meetings chaired by the leading men of their communities, like the Lord Mayor of London who convened a meeting in the Guildhall which passed a resolution backing the Permissive Bill on June 6 1871.¹⁵⁰

In 1879, Lawson substituted the Bill for a Local Option resolution. This was more successful for it merely asserted the permissive principle without proposing the method by which it should operate. On June 18 1880, the House of Commons passed the Local Option Resolution for the first time, by 245 votes to 219.

Despite efforts up to the present day, prohibition has never been enacted in the United Kingdom. The present tendency is for the public houses to diversify their attractions, (special offer pub lunches / quiz nights / billiards / beer gardens etc.), in order to appeal to a wider public. Government policy, having to contend with the highest teenage drinking rate in the European Union, favours longer opening hours as a way to dissipate the problems of an 11 o'clock drink up time.

Opposition to the Alliance

The Alliance met with hostility 'in some quarters' when it began operations in 1853. This was very much played down in Alliance literature and is therefore somewhat difficult to analyse. There are some clues, like a revealing debit of £15 entered on the balance sheet for 1854-5, for 'damages by publicans at meetings'. Newspapers were generally scornful of Alliance initiatives when first presented. *The Times* was no exception, although a much less hostile attitude can be discerned in the early 1870s.¹⁵¹ Commenting on the Alliance aim of electing its supporters to parliament, the following advice was proffered.

We certainly recommend [Mr Lawson and associates] to set to work at once [to elect a parliament that will serve their turn], for they will need all the time they can get to perform this remarkable operation. When they succeed we shall expect to see another Flood, and very strange creatures going up two by two from the country to the House of Commons.¹⁵²

This type of opposition concerned the Alliance less than that encountered in parliament. After all, it was in the parliamentary arena that the war had to be won if legislation was to bring an end to the liquor traffic.

In 1862, Wilfred Lawson first moved a resolution on the Permissive Bill proposal. No vote was taken. For the next two years it was not 'deemed prudent' to press the Permissive Bill's direct introduction into the Commons, even though some MPs were willing to debate it. Lord Brougham and others advised the Alliance that it might alienate members if they were forced to take an immediate decision on the issue. It would then be a more arduous task to convert them from an adverse position. With time and correct information, it was argued, a positive vote could be more easily secured. The Alliance bided its time, but was criticised by other temperance advocates for not pressing ahead. This unusually cautious approach demonstrates how much faith was placed in Brougham.¹⁵³

In 1864, Lawson introduced the Intoxicating Liquors Bill that proposed to confer Local Veto powers on ratepayers, the principle approved by the General Council in 1857. The Alliance Executive claimed before its introduction that 'the measure is intended to promote a full and explicit understanding of the purposes of the Alliance'.¹⁵⁴ It was not very successful, for the first vote in the Commons on Lawson's Permissive Bill, in 1864, resulted in a majority of 257 against. Lawson and the Alliance Executive were bitterly disappointed even though the latter professed a disbelief in 'immediate success'. The conversion of Parliament to the revised legislative policy of the Alliance would require, as the Executive foresaw, 'long and arduous labour'.¹⁵⁵ The initial faith that a short cut to

temperance had been found was proved wrong after a decade of experiment. That very faith had attracted large numbers of English temperance reformers, and they were left to question whether the new policy of applying the Maine prohibitory principle to a neighbourhood instead of a nation, coupled with the slow progress in parliament, was any better than their former policy of working for a change in public opinion together with restrictive, gradualist legislation. The National Temperance League and the Scottish Temperance League, along with Joseph Livesey and others, had misgivings concerning this change of emphasis.¹⁵⁶

Livesey had never abandoned his moral suasionism. His lack of faith in Alliance policy and his belief in the lack of preparation of the English people for it is evident from the following;

The Alliance flag is *too low* for the teetotalers, who insist on personal abstinence, and *too high* for the citizen class, who are not willing to stop the sale of drink, and don't believe a majority has any right to prevent them buying what they believe to be useful and necessary.¹⁵⁷

Don't depend too much on *legislation*. Magistrates as administrators, nor the legislature as the maker of our laws have ever done much for temperance.¹⁵⁸

He was a confessed 'Maine Law man', a supporter of the legal suppression of the drink trade. However, despite Alliance protests to the contrary, he was fearful that the Alliance would dominate the teetotal movement as a whole, to the detriment of the welfare of the people.¹⁵⁹ By the 1850s, the movement encompassed multitudinous advocates of varying temperance persuasions. Livesey believed the best policy was one that directed concerted action at different levels. He rejected an Alliance cuckoo in the nest. He knew that without the backing of the electorate, parliament would not pass a prohibitory bill. He supported the Alliance initially because it was for the 'total and immediate suppression' of the drink trade. For him, anything other than imperial legislation was only important in so

far as it was an auxiliary to moral suasion. The change of Alliance policy in 1857, in support of a permissive measure where ratepayers would have the power to decide on the introduction of a prohibitory measure in their locality, was not welcomed. His fears were confirmed when he saw the Alliance's form of legal suppression (the Permissive Bill) take centre stage in the temperance movement.

Free and Friendly Remarks upon the Permissive Bill, Temperance Legislation and the Alliance, 1862

In 1862, Livesey analysed Alliance policy and set out his position with characteristic clarity in *Free and Friendly Remarks upon the Permissive Bill, Temperance Legislation and the Alliance*.¹⁶⁰ His pamphlet received much publicity, (it was widely circulated by the National and Scottish Temperance Leagues), and engendered another great policy debate in the temperance movement. In *Free and Friendly Remarks* Livesey began by underlining he was not deliberately attempting to antagonise the Alliance, stating that an attack on the Permissive Bill, (later referred to as 'a hopeless, futile measure'), was not an attack on that organisation. The early endeavours of the Alliance men, working for total and immediate suppression of the drink traffic, were praised along with those of the moral suasionists. Even the later work, although deficient in concrete results, had diffused information and brought temperance to the attention of many men who would otherwise have been oblivious to the cause.

In general terms, Livesey strongly believed in imperial as opposed to permissive legislation. He believed that parliament should take the decision to prohibit, and not delegate power to local districts. The laws would then apply to the whole country, to the metropolis as well as the towns and villages. Drink laws should be strong enough to crush

the drink system everywhere, without relying on the ‘puny efforts of private individuals’, nor the ‘doubtful and ever varying decisions of the fickle multitude’.

He stated various reasons for opposing Alliance policies. Firstly, he thought a Permissive Bill impossible to attain. Various considerations were forwarded. Livesey argued that free trade was gaining the upper hand in parliament, so any change would be in that direction, not for prohibition or a Permissive Bill. In addition, MPs, generally being magistrates too, were unlikely to vote for a decrease in their own power. By passing the Permissive Bill, they would be allowing ratepayers to set aside their own decisions. There were very few genuine temperance MPs in 1862, so again there was little chance of pushing any permissive legislation through. MPs were generally social drinkers, and so were loath to prohibit the sale of something they enjoyed themselves. This would leave them open to charges of hypocrisy and of being class legislators.

Livesey believed that where drink was concerned, the people were worse judges than the magistrates who then held the licensing power. He confessed that the latter formed part of a monopolistic system based on no consistent principle and fraught with favouritism. Ever the pragmatist, he maintained that this did not concern temperance reformers. An electorate ignorant of temperance principles was worse than the magistracy. Based on his experience of electoral behaviour, he stated ‘a limited acquaintance with the disgraceful way in which the voting “right” is exercised, would be quite sufficient to deter anyone from extending it’.¹⁶¹ He would rather have had a sober, restricted electorate than an extended suffrage influenced by drink. It would indeed have been ironic if ratepayers were plied with drink when voting on whether to close all the drinking establishments in their locality! For Livesey in 1862, this was inevitable.

His preference for magisterial control over the liquor trade is surprising. It was contrary to his opinions of ‘the establishment’ expressed in his earlier radical days but can

be explained by his strong conviction of the people's inability to take 'the right' decision at that time. He agreed with Lees' assertion that the people were not fit for the suffrage, although it was their abstract right. They had to 'put themselves in a condition to wisely and freely use it'.¹⁶² He later differentiated between a franchise to vote for permissive legislation, and the parliamentary franchise.

In the one [the former] the people would be assuming the executive, every man having a separate voice in the same; in the other case, the election is to secure a representative, who goes to assist in making laws, not to execute them, and to exercise his own individual judgment in this department.¹⁶³

He stated that the people exercised law through representation. It was dangerous to change this doctrine for one of direct participation for it could not be circumscribed to voting on intoxicating liquor. If the people had the right to control the liquor traffic, then they had the right to control other types of traffic too.

The contentious demand for compensation on the summary closing of licensed premises was ignored in the Permissive Bill. Livesey argued that the breweries, distilleries, wine shops, public houses and so forth existed because of public demand and were sanctioned by law. It would be dishonest, a form of legal theft, to close them forcibly without legal compensation. The Alliance was against compensation.

A further objection to Alliance policies was that if obtained, the Permissive Bill would fail and do more harm than good. He believed even if a Permissive Bill were passed, given that pro-drinkers far outweighed teetotalers in the towns, there was little possibility of a vote there to close the public houses. Therefore, he believed it would be better to pass a bill closing all pubs an hour earlier than let a few country pubs close altogether whilst the others remained undisturbed. Livesey believed the Permissive Bill was extreme, leaving little room for manoeuvre. It entailed 'all or nothing', the present system or local

prohibition. He thought most people were not ready to sanction such a drastic step as local prohibition, hence the impossibility of it ever being adopted until attitudes were changed.

Livesey believed the Permissive Bill could do harm because it posed a serious danger to law and order. Fired with liquor, drunken mobs would be created, leading to riots and bloodshed. The scenario would be repeated each time there was a contest.¹⁶⁴ The Permissive Bill was accused of being impractical, for if it were enacted there would be no one to enforce it. (Indeed, Livesey underlined the fact that at his time of writing, although much discussed, it had never even been presented to the Commons for voting). The opposition to the current, mild drinking laws was sufficient to show that neither the police, the magistrates nor the watch committees would wholeheartedly enforce any contested local prohibition.

Another reason for opposing efforts for a Permissive Bill concerned the detraction this would have on the struggle for other, more practical temperance measures. He called attention to the fact that government measures to control the drink traffic were imminent. He favoured 'the greatest amount of restriction, and the nearest approach to prohibition' that could be obtained at that time, given the state of public opinion.

A warning was given about the fickleness of politicians and the folly of trusting their pre-election pledges. Allying too closely with a political party was also risky, for it alienated temperance supporters of other party colours. (The Alliance/Liberal Party relationship was reinforced after 1872). Election time was a perfectly good time to canvass and enunciate principles, however.

After enumerating reasons for the anti-Alliance stand of some teetotallers, the most important of which was its attack on the *sale* of drink as opposed to the *use* of it, Livesey set out a three-point programme for immediate adoption.

- 1) Fixed and early closing of drink-selling establishments every night.

2) Sunday closing.

3) Effective enforcement of the law against all publicans, for every breach of their licence conditions.

Livesey concluded his *Free and Friendly Remarks* with an appeal for a better understanding between temperance reformers, more charity and less division. 'Our cause suffers more from internal divisions, than from external attack', he wrote. 'I wish that anything I could say, or anything I could do, would lead to peace'.¹⁶⁵

Before leaving criticisms of the Permissive Bill, one final point must be made. The Bill proposed only to enfranchise the ratepayers, not the whole population. As only a small proportion belonged to this category in the early 1860s, and as not all of these actually voted in elections Harrison calculated that 'empowering a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority of ratepayers would be to enable $\frac{2}{15}$ of the population to dictate to the remaining $\frac{13}{15}$, ? the dominance of a small minority over the majority'.¹⁶⁶ In fact, the Alliance consistently supported franchise extension, and contributed to the Reform League in the 1860s. Where workers moved around a lot, the difficulty of constructing a register other than one based on the ratepayer franchise was insurmountable at the time.¹⁶⁷

Alliance counter-arguments

In 1862, the Alliance issued its forty-eight-page reply to Livesey in *The Principles and Policy of the United Kingdom Alliance Vindicated, in Reply to Recent Objections*, 1862.¹⁶⁸ The Alliance confessed that this reply was only forthcoming because Livesey's pamphlet was free from the 'animus' found in other critical pamphlets, and was presented 'in a different spirit and with a better grace'.¹⁶⁹ In these circumstances, it was considered to be deserving of attention. Throughout the pamphlet, Livesey is referred to directly or

indirectly in an ironic or patronising manner. He is criticised for never having come to a General Meeting during the five years he was eligible to do so, in order to present any policy objections he had. Silence was deemed to be consent.¹⁷⁰

Three factors were outlined as being the cause of national intemperance: a belief that drinking was a “good thing” for diverse reasons e.g. ignorance, custom, and the legal sanction of drinking/the traffic. All had to be combated, which entailed using different strategies. The ‘noble’ work of the temperance societies in educating the people in temperance during the previous thirty years was acknowledged. However, the failure to substantially lessen the numbers of drunkards and drink places was underlined, and the methodology questioned. Teetotal doctrine may have convinced, but it could not permanently convert. In this context, prohibition was considered an ‘essential part of the Temperance Reformation’. For success, the conscientious teetotaler must support this Reformation in its three aspects of persuasion, association, and prohibition.

It was pointed out that prohibition itself had not been criticised, but rather popular permissive prohibition ? Livesey was a ‘Maine Law man’. Livesey’s preference for imperial over permissive drinking laws was reiterated, together with his desire not to rely on ‘the puny efforts of private individuals’ and his wish to take away any decision from the ‘fickle multitude’. Astonishment was expressed at such opinions emanating from someone renowned for his popular political principles: ‘He will not let a parish, a town, a village, purge itself of the liquor-traffic; he yearns to see, in preference, the exercise of imperial power, fixed, positive, absolute’.¹⁷¹ Livesey was reminded that moral suasion began with such inconsequential efforts and relied on the masses for support. If the multitude was good enough for the temperance forefathers, then it should also be so for those wishing to abolish the drink traffic through legislation. If the ‘fickle multitude’ could not be trusted with carrying through permissive prohibition, then it could not be entrusted with

teetotalism.¹⁷² Later, reference was again made to the lack of trust in the people. It was asserted that if temperance men succeeded in wresting power and influence from corrupt politicians, then that was deemed 'good service'. The policy of non-alignment of temperance/political party had born no fruit, for individual politicians could not be relied upon, once elected, to support Alliance proposals. A change of tactics was required, despite the inherent difficulties and dangers this implied. Alliance principles had to be inculcated into parliamentary candidates, for general temperance sentiments were insufficient.

It was further pointed out that the legislature could be regarded as being as fickle as the citizens it sought to protect. Laws once passed may easily be repealed (the example of the Wilson-Patten Act, altered at the behest of a Hyde Park mob was cited). Puny laws with little consistency may be enacted. Thus, the legislature was regarded as no more reliable than the multitude!

Livesey's objection to the 'all-or-nothing' aspect of a Permissive Bill was regarded with astonishment. The choice of the current system or extinction was seen as the merit of permissive legislation. Besides, the much-lauded Maine Law favoured by Livesey was wide-sweeping imperial legislation. Surely, the Alliance conjectured, he who wanted to eat 'the entire orange' should also swallow its quarters. It was self-evident that;

[?] imperative prohibition is prohibition needlessly taken at the hardest,
the slice of bread cut purposely with the knife's back.¹⁷³

The Alliance acknowledged the difficulties in the way of the Permissive Bill. Magisterial opposition was dismissed out of hand: 'so much the worse for the magistracy'. It was ironically pointed out that although Alliance detractors acknowledged an uncooperative House of Commons, the Alliance was criticised when trying to get friendly representatives elected, for fear of alienating candidates and the public.

The Alliance stated that the means justified the ends with regard to causing trouble, even riots. A period of ‘tough tug and tussle’ with some ‘local martyrdom’ and unpleasant electoral conflict was considered an acceptable consequence of Alliance action. Besides, the early temperance pioneers had been content to reckon with drunken mobs, rioting and bloodshed, Livesey included, in order to teach the people. The Alliance was not afraid, unlike the battle-weary ‘old horse’. (Indeed, Livesey’s age and experience probably contributed to his caution). In addition, the England of the 1830s was substantially different to that of the early 1860s, and it was perhaps this difference that worried Livesey when assessing the Alliance’s provocative stance.

In answer to Livesey’s affirmation that a Permissive Bill was impossible to attain, the Alliance retorted that;

[?] the impossibilities of one period are the established facts of another. The world moves on, and the impossibilities of weak minds become the servants of strong ones. So we think it will be with this impossibility.¹⁷⁴

The unsubstantiated assertion concerning the impossibility of passing a Permissive Bill in *Free and Friendly Remarks* was simply put aside as another ploy of those wishing to see the end of the Alliance and its policies.

The accusation of underestimating the people was levelled at Livesey in reply to his claim that if the Permissive Bill were attained it would be a failure and do more harm than good. Once the people had the power in their hands to deal with the traffic, even an imperial Act could be enforced, said the Alliance. The furore that setting the people against the publicans would cause would be beneficial, for it would strengthen faint hearts and build up ‘a righteous and godly people’.

The problem of compensation was summarily dismissed. Livesey had argued that the trade, being a legal one, should be compensated for its extinction. The Alliance stated that it had never pronounced on the matter, for it was a subject more suited to parliament

than a political, temperance organisation. Its leaning towards non-payment was evident, however. Counter-claims of bereaved wives, starving families, criminals and lunatics against brewers and drink sellers were deemed as justifiable as those of the trade for loss of business. The resulting bill would run into many millions of pounds.

The gravest difficulty facing the Alliance was said to be ‘certain prominent Teetotalers’. A stinging attack was made, despite Livesey’s earlier proposal of peaceful dialogue. Ample space is afforded to the reprehension of those who dared to stab the Alliance in the back.

But those who once were with us are fallen from our side; their flag is lowered, their principles are almost refined away, and instead of aiding they are hindering our work. [?] they retard success more than brewers, publicans, or members of Parliament; a heavier burden lies upon them.¹⁷⁵

The Alliance disapproved of those prohibitionists who did not work for immediate measures to secure their objective. It was felt that attempts to secure less ambitious temperance legislation were not compatible with Alliance principles, and were therefore left to other temperance organisations. The Alliance was at a loss to know how public opinion could be used to support suppression if it were not enlightened on that subject first. The Permissive Bill was defended as a true principle of the Alliance, not a deviation from original policy. It was a way of preparing public opinion for imperial prohibition ? the ultimate objective.

Livesey’s objection to the inclusion of non-abstaining members of the Alliance was curtly dismissed. Reference was made to the First Executive Report, where the reasons for such a position were laid out. Refusal to work with the Alliance because of this problem was ridiculed, for a non-abstaining worker for the cause was far better than an abstaining non-worker. Again, the Alliance set itself up as the *prima dona* of the temperance world, ignoring other temperance organisations.

Between January and February 1870, a short ‘friendly correspondence’ was carried out between Thomas Barker and Joseph Livesey, at the instigation of the former.¹⁷⁶ Upon the pretext of sending New Year’s greetings, Barker requested Livesey to see his ‘great error’ and support the Alliance, for he had ‘done more to obstruct and discourage [the Alliance], than any dozen other temperance men’. Livesey’s short reply reiterated his former position regarding permissive legislation, and the reasons for taking it. Barker’s response argued the Alliance case carefully, attempting to show the fallacy and even inconsistency of Livesey’s position. Given the obvious impossibility of the two coming to a consensus, Livesey simply stated that time would arbitrate between them. Over one hundred and thirty years later, time has shown that restrictive legislation has not solved the problem of drink abuse, but neither have the people been convinced of the advisability of general permissive legislation. Even national referendums are rarely held in Britain today. If anything, the drink interest has prospered over time and been the eventual gainer.

Further attempts at the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic. Parliamentary initiatives 1840-1872

Most parliamentary temperance activity dates from 1840. Numerous select committees were appointed from both Houses, and governmental and private bills for legislative change were introduced, some more successfully than others. This parliamentary attention, (still relatively scant until 1871), reflected corresponding shifts in general attitudes to drunkenness, mainly due to the temperance efforts to bring the problem before the public. However, governments were increasingly willing to legislate in order to amend social ills. Factory, public health and police legislation are cases in point. Drink legislation can be seen as part of this general change in attitude. It also demonstrated the

alliance of forces on both sides of the drink barricade, for and against stiffer drink legislation.

In 1840, legislation was passed that laid down statutory opening hours for beerhouses that were similar to those of public houses (from 5 a.m. to 12 p.m. in London and Westminster, from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. where the population was over 2,500, from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. in all other places). Closure was until 1 p.m. on Sundays, everywhere, to ensure no drinking during church services, (see Appendix 8). The law was often ignored.

The Sunday Closing Movement

Half-day Sunday closing did not satisfy the temperance advocates, however, and agitation for the entire suppression of the sale of intoxicating liquor on Sundays began in earnest in 1844. The annual conference of the British Temperance Association, held in Manchester, resolved to concentrate efforts to this end. With the help of other bodies, a considerable number of petitions were presented to parliament during the 1846 session. The Bishop of Norwich alone presented 60 petitions bearing 50,000 signatures.¹⁷⁷ A *Prize Essay* on Sunday closing was written and thousands of copies were extensively circulated from 1846. Partial success was achieved in 1848, when the success of the half Sunday closing of public houses in London, Liverpool, Manchester and other large towns, coupled with the agitation for entire Sunday closing, led to the passing of an 'Act for regulating the sale of Beer and other liquors on the Lord's Day'. The sale of intoxicating liquor in every part of England and Wales was prohibited on Sundays from midnight on Saturday to half-past twelve on Sunday, or until the actual termination of worship in the principal place of worship in the parish.

Few Statutes have been more productive of public benefit, besides being a complete refutation of the objection that "men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament".

So wrote the temperance historian Dawson Burns.¹⁷⁸

Joseph Somes, MP for Hull, championed Sunday Closing in the 1860s. He first introduced a Sunday Closing Bill into the Commons in 1863. This was seen as a Sabbatarian measure, and largely debated as such, but it also received considerable support from temperance advocates, including the Alliance.¹⁷⁹ There was great opposition in the House to the bill, however, and much agitation in the constituencies ensued. It failed its second reading in the Commons by 175 votes, the government having voted against it. The Alliance believed the sponsors were to blame, for they refused to take up Cobden's suggestion of making it a permissive bill. Alliance canvasses showed that there was majority support for Sunday closing in the country. However, it was conceded that religious not temperance considerations were the prime motivating forces behind the bill. The Alliance respected this, but believed the support given by those unhappy with the licensing system was to a certain extent misplaced. As previously mentioned, instead of trying to reduce opening hours, the Alliance believed they should have been fighting for the *entire* substitution of the licensing system for prohibition. After all, prohibition on one day (Sunday) did not necessarily mean it could be achieved for the other six, due to the peculiar religious considerations to be taken into account.¹⁸⁰

Select Committees

In 1849, a House of Lords Select Committee on Intemperance was obtained by the Earl of Harrowby to inquire into the beerhouse system. It concluded that the 1830 Beer Act had failed in its intentions and subsequent legislation had not corrected the evils it had produced: 'the multiplication of houses for the sale of intoxicating liquors under the Beer Act has been an evil of the first magnitude'. The recommendations proposed were weak,

however, and did not address the negative effects of the existing beer shops except concerning debts contracted for drinking on the premises. These were to be non-recoverable.

A Select Committee on Public Houses, this time from the Commons, reported in 1854. Like its Lords predecessor, it found that the beer-selling system set up in 1830, which had taken control from the magistrates, had proved a failure. The correlation between increased drunkenness and crime, disorder and distress was made. The increase in beerhouses from 88,930 to 123,396 was an evil 'of the first magnitude'. It recommended that no intoxicating drink should be sold without a licence. There should be a uniform licence granted by the magistrates, allowing the holder to sell any kind of intoxicating drink. Anyone 'of good character' should be able to obtain such a licence on payment of a fee and finding two sureties. The licence fees should be in proportion to the population, the price not to exceed £30. Inspectors were recommended not only for public houses, but also for lodging houses and 'all places of public refreshment and entertainment'. In case of drunkenness, riotous or disorderly conduct, the inspectors would have the power to call in the police. When drinking out of hours was found, the customers would also be punished, being liable to pay up to half the fine imposed on the proprietor. Coffee shops, temperance hotels, shellfish shops etc. should also obtain a licence and be subject to inspection. It was suggested that opening times should be greatly reduced on Sundays. Only *bone fide* travellers should be served with strong drink on that day. The public house should be closed except from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. and from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. or 6 p.m. to 10 p.m.. The sale on other days should cease from 11 p.m. to 4 a.m.¹⁸¹ A bill incorporating the Sunday closing suggestions was introduced into the Commons very shortly after the report was published, taking the opponents of Sunday Closing by surprise. After alterations, the Sunday Beer Act or Wilson-Patten Act, with its restrictions, was passed in 1854.

The Wilson-Patten Act, 1854

The public was taken unawares, and much aggravation resulted when people were denied access to refreshment on Sundays. For example, many excursionists found they were too early for a drink before they left to come home, and too late when they arrived back. The interpretation of '*bone fide* traveller' was elastic, and there was much abuse of the term.¹⁸²

The Act had little time to operate, however. Resentment had been simmering for months when in the summer of 1855 Lord Grosvenor introduced a bill to prevent all Sunday trading in shops. This would have severely restricted all Sunday trading, including opening times of licensed premises. The government had supported it. The working classes saw it as a threat to their fresh food and drink and convened mass meetings in Hyde Park, symbolically aimed at preventing the wealthy from exercising a privilege peculiar to themselves ? driving their carriages there on a Sunday. Seventy-two people were arrested during rioting. Thousand of petitions were presented both in favour of and against Sunday closing. The Bill was abandoned after a Select Committee on Sunday Closing, sitting for only two weeks and producing a mere seventeen-line report, dismissed the Wilson-Patten Act as 'attended with much inconvenience to the public'. The *bone fide* traveller clause was slated as useless. The Act was repealed and opening times extended again. This was a great blow to the temperance movement, especially as it considered the protests to have been aimed at general trading and not public house opening hours alone.¹⁸³ The government was accused of weakness and of bowing to pressure from 'a mob of roughs'. The *bone fide* traveller, who became a national joke, finally made his last journey in 1921 when a new Licensing Act provided him with refreshments.¹⁸⁴

The Wilson-Patten Act and its subsequent modification is a useful illustration of the Alliance attitude to restrictive legislation. The initial ‘concession to the enemy’ was regarded as ‘the greatest possible danger to the cause’. Nothing would do for the Alliance at that time (pre-Permissive Bill) but total and immediate prohibition. The subsequent partial repeal, although regretted, was not a ‘disaster’ but rather ‘an absolute gain’.

It demonstrates once again the impossibility of successful compromise with the traffic, and it renders more evident the truth, that restriction and regulation must never be confounded with total prohibition.¹⁸⁵

On the other hand, the temperance historian Winskill praised the beneficial results of the Act to be seen everywhere. Many in authority testified to ‘the happy results arising therefrom’.¹⁸⁶

William Ewart Gladstone

Gladstone was convinced, after close observation of continental practices, that free trade engendered sobriety. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he proposed a number of ‘mischievous measures’ in 1860-3 that made drinking easier and cheaper, trying especially to open up the British wine trade. As an integral part of the Free Trade Treaty signed with France, he insisted on greatly reduced import duties on French wines in his budget of 1860.¹⁸⁷ French wines were much reduced in price. A new licensing system for beer and wine was also proposed. His scheme meant that licences could be cheaply obtained from the Excise.

The reaction of the temperance movement as a whole was predictable, and concerted efforts were made to block the proposals as far as possible. In this instance, they found themselves uncomfortably on the same side as the publicans. Nationwide petitions

that included a Permissive Bill clause were organised ? 2,306 petitions containing 216,135 signatures were presented to the Commons. Members of Parliament were specially targeted by the Alliance, receiving 'deputations' and written communications concerning the dangers of the proposals. The temperance advocates' position was somewhat embarrassing, for as they were generally free traders in other spheres a case had to be made for the peculiarity of the drink trade.¹⁸⁸ Objections were made on various grounds; the rise in expenditure on alcoholic drinks, considered to be a waste of money, which easier access would engender; the risk of encouraging eating houses to rely more heavily on the sale of drink rather than food for income, because of reduced licence fees, thus promoting drinking once again; the reversal of the recent legislative trend favouring the encouragement of non-alcoholic drinks such as tea and coffee; and the scepticism regarding the ability of the magistrates to prevent or suppress abuses using the increased powers provided by the bill.¹⁸⁹

Under such pressure, Gladstone afforded a concession and dropped references to beer, confining the new system to wine only. This was no small victory. He insisted that the British population would benefit from lighter French wines, however, for there would be less drunkenness as drinkers switched from spirits to wine. This was temperance heresy, for temperance advocates argued that the introduction of one intoxicant could never eradicate the appetite for another. Evidence from the continent showed that wine had not displaced spirits, but rather *vice versa*.¹⁹⁰ Without modification, the bill passed as the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences Act (1860). A new wine 'off' licence obtainable by any shopkeeper was created. Magistrates were only entitled to object to an application on certain specified grounds. 'On' licences were to be granted by the Excise. No sale of wine was allowed after 11 p.m. or in London after 12 p.m., until 5 a.m. Penalties against drunkenness and other offences were stipulated, but there was no provision for detection

and punishment. The Alliance and other temperance organisations/advocates had fought long and hard inside and outside parliament to defeat the bill, without success. Despite defeat, the Alliance contented itself with the initial exclusion of beer, and with the fact that the fierce debate it engendered in the Commons, filling 120 pages of Hansard, had established it as a force to be reckoned with.¹⁹¹

In his supplementary budget of 1860, Gladstone increased the duty on spirits by 1s 11d. per gallon, infuriating the drink-sellers. This was a permanent tax, obviously intended to increase government revenue, and, albeit indirectly, help the war effort. Whilst applauded by some temperance advocates, others pointed out that closing all the drink shops would go further to securing world peace, for with;

[...] drink banished from the world, there would be fewer occasions for men to go to war, and greater difficulty in finding the living material to go to war with. [...] Drink and the recruiting sergeant are generally on good terms.¹⁹²

In 1861, Gladstone tinkered with licences in pursuance of his previous year's fiscal policy, resulting in 'an exceedingly prejudicial' effect upon family life.¹⁹³ The intention was to mitigate the pernicious effects of the public house and reduce the dangers arising from access to spirits where small quantities were involved. At the time, if less than two gallons of spirits were needed, for medicinal purposes for example, the public house was the only outlet available. Servants (especially females) sent out on such errands were exposed to temptations to drink ? a 'disgraceful' state of affairs for Gladstone. In his Excise and Stamps Act, wholesale spirit dealers were empowered to sell as little as a quart. However, the shopkeeper's opportunity to be liquor-trader was thus widened. He was empowered to take out the three-guinea licence for the retail sale of spirits for 'off' consumption if he also had/took out a wholesale spirit-dealer's licence, at a cost of ten guineas. For thirteen guineas, therefore, any shopkeeper could sell spirits wholesale or

retail, for consumption off the premises.¹⁹⁴ As the wine and spirit licences were mainly taken out by grocers, they became known as Grocers' Licences. Access to spirits was actually widened as women, children and maids were particularly tempted to indulge in alcohol when shopping, often through the marketing tactics of the grocer. The following communication from Dr. Little, senior physician of the London Hospital, to the Duke of Richmond, illustrates the dangers.

I regret to add that tradesmen reputed respectable have been found to send wines and spirits packed in disguise, to the wife's order, without the knowledge of the husband.

Furthermore;

It is said that in a village near Ipswich there is a grocer who thinks it no unusual thing to sell as many as 100 bottles of gin on a Saturday night.¹⁹⁵

Gladstone argued in the Commons that he was helping sobriety by making wine affordable to the lower middle and upper working classes, and by encouraging the drinking of wine at meals. Sir Wilfred Lawson commented in his usual dry wit that the Chancellor 'suggested that an additional supply of wine would make people sober'.¹⁹⁶ The licensed victuallers were unhappy with the new grocers' licenses, for they suffered from the increased competition. One response of theirs was to establish the Licensed Victuallers' Tea Association, the aim being to sell cheaper tea than the retail grocers and thereby attract back old customers. This was marketed as a boon to the poor. Agents were appointed to promote the sale of the cheap tea.¹⁹⁷

In the same parliamentary session (1861), the sellers of 'table beer' were required to take out a 5s licence, although anyone could do so. This was purely for 'off' consumption, and was welcomed by the Alliance and others as a check on the traffic.

In 1862, the Customs and Inland Revenue Act made it possible, among other things, for publicans to take out occasional licences from the Excise at a charge of only 5s,

when a certificate from two magistrates was produced. He could therefore supply liquor for up to three consecutive days at a place other than his licensed premises (for example a public festivity).¹⁹⁸ Small changes to the drink laws made in 1863 led the Alliance to the conclusion that 'Mr. Gladstone is still at sea for a principle to guide him'. Largely retrogressive changes were made, although Gladstone declared the object of his government to be the raising of 'the largest possible revenue from the smallest possible area of consumption of intoxicating liquor'.¹⁹⁹

The parliamentary debates on spirit duties during 1864 provided an opportunity for Gladstone to declare that the proper principle in taxing spirits was to impose the highest amount of duty that did not encourage illicit dealing. His apparent intention was to restrict spirit consumption on moral grounds through fiscal policy. He recognised the link between spirits and criminal behaviour: 'ardent spirits are not only evils in themselves, but the fruitful parents of crime'.²⁰⁰

Liverpool and free licensing

Liverpool's licensing policy had been closely observed by the Chancellor and others from the 1850s, for it was an experiment in virtual free-licensing. The law allowed magistrates discretion over the criteria adopted for granting drink licences. Licensing magistrates in Liverpool determined to take into consideration only the fitness of any house or the character of any applicant, disregarding any other such as the number of licensed premises already in the neighbourhood, or population figures. As early as 1854, this policy was discussed in the Commons but no specific authorising legislation followed. Liverpool was regarded as an experiment in free-licensing. Attempts to obtain a parliamentary free-licensing measure for Liverpool in 1863 and 1864 were defeated by a

combination of prohibitionists and publicans. Drunkenness in the city rose alarmingly, with detrimental effects on crime and health. In 1866, the Liverpool magistrates reversed their policy and free-licensing was relegated to the political dustbin.

Qualified permissive licensing

The problem of drunkenness at night in the metropolis was repeatedly brought to the attention of the government, and in 1864 Home Secretary Sir George Grey introduced a Public House Closing Bill. This was passed after much opposition from the drink trade, for it included the permissive principle. Public houses were to close imperatively in London between 1 a.m. and 4 a.m., but the boroughs were only required to follow suit after a favourable vote from the municipal authority.²⁰¹ The Alliance rejoiced at a small victory, for 'the power to lessen the legalised temptation was entrusted, though somewhat indirectly, to those who suffered from the consequences'.²⁰² One year later, the act had been taken up by forty-five corporate boroughs and towns.

The Malt Tax

The Malt Tax came under the scrutiny of the House in May 1866, when those advocating a repeal of the tax, mainly rural MPs, succeeded in obtaining a committee of inquiry into its operations. Although it did not complete its work within the time limits of the session, much discussion was generated inside and outside parliament. The argument that a reduction/abolition of the malt duty would benefit the working man by lowering the price of his beer seemed a persuasive one capable of attracting widespread support. Joseph Livesey took up the challenge on behalf of the temperance movement and argued a position that appeared to be contrary to his normal support of the working classes.

Defending the retention of a tax on a product of widespread working class consumption whose abolition would seemingly be of financial benefit to them could not have been easy.²⁰³

In *Malt, Malt Liquor, Malt Tax, Beer, and Barley*, 1866,²⁰⁴ Livesey began by stating the case of the opposition. It was argued that abolition would result in reduced spirits consumption due to an increase in beer drinking. This would lead to health benefits for beer drinkers. Cheaper malt would stimulate home beer production, leading to an improvement in the quality of beer due to a move away from the purchase of adulterated beer. A concomitant improvement in family life would ensue because the man of the house would spend more time at home and less at the public house. Livesey explained that:

- a) beer was not a necessity of life but a poison, and thus was taxable. The tax being on malt (an ingredient of beer) and not on barley (an article of food), and considering that beer was not a necessity of life, it was right to tax malt in the same way as coffee or tea (considered to be luxury items).
- b) the supposed benefits from a reduction/abolition of the tax were fictitious. The barley producers would not receive more for their crop, but on the contrary would lose financially through having to pay higher local taxes in compensation for the loss to the government of the Malt Tax revenue. Consumers would not benefit from a reduction in the price of beer because they would augment their beer consumption. He cited the example of the disastrous consequences of generalised drunkenness and increased numbers of public houses resulting from the abolition of the Beer Tax in 1830.
- c) the general public, being used to the Malt Tax, would find it 'more onerous' to have to pay the new taxes on consumer goods that would inevitably be imposed, to compensate for the £6m in lost Malt Tax revenue.
- d) beer, contrary to popular belief, was not 'liquid bread' for it contained very few

nutrients. He used data from chemical analysis to back up his claims. Penalising its consumption through pricing was correct for it encouraged the consumption of healthier items like bread.

The Malt Tax was not abolished until Gladstone ended the controversy in his 1880 budget by transferring the duty to beer.²⁰⁵

Parliamentary elections

The 1865 general election had exposed the weaknesses of the Alliance. With insufficient voters enfranchised to make their support valuable to a candidate, and with no identifiable party allegiance, those who could vote failed to concentrate on one particular constituency candidate. Party loyalties were often too strong. Lawson lost his seat in Carlisle by seventeen votes²⁰⁶ and Alliance secretary Samuel Pope was not elected at Bolton where he had stood as a Liberal. The Executive believed that effective pressure could only be exerted after electoral reform.²⁰⁷

The 1868 general election was the first after the 1867 franchise enlargement. Although mainly fought on Irish questions, Church disestablishment, and tenant rights, the Permissive Bill had been brought to the candidates' attention. Lawson regained his seat in the Commons and another member of the Executive, Benjamin Whitworth, was elected MP for Drogheda. However, the new Liberal government of 1868, headed by William Gladstone and elected by an enlarged number of the working classes, did not produce the immediate beneficial results for which the Alliance and other temperance advocates had hoped.

The end of free trade in beer

In 1869, the Conservative Selwin-Ibbetson introduced a cross-party private member's bill that resulted in the Wine and Beerhouse Act. This was important for it finally ended free trade in beer by giving magistrates control over the issue of new beer and wine licences and by imposing new restrictions on beerhouses. A licence could be refused after an inspection of the character of the applicant. Those applying for beer 'off' licences and tenants of beerhouses licensed before May 1 1869 were left as free as before, on compliance with certain conditions. Hundreds of the worst beerhouses were refused renewed licences and closed down and the conduct in many others was improved.

The Act was accepted by Home Secretary Bruce as an interim measure, for if the magistrates showed they were able and willing to effect local reform, he was prepared to advance with a comprehensive licensing bill.²⁰⁸ Magistrates did comply, and so in April 1871 Bruce introduced the government's Intoxicating Liquors (Licensing) Bill. This was an enormous 177-clause document designed to reshape the existing law. Among its many proposals were; the requirement of a magistrate's certificate prior to the issue of a licence by the Excise; higher licence duties; special public house inspectors; much shorter, compulsory opening hours; forfeiture of licences for misconduct. The bill laid down a fixed scale for the number of 'on' licences in relation to population throughout the country ? one for every 1,000 or 600 of the population in towns and rural areas respectively. After ten years, any licences above the permitted maximum might be suppressed without compensation and the granting of additional licences by magistrates would be subject to local option. Surviving licences would be auctioned to the highest bidder. The principle demanded by the Alliance, local veto, was included in the bill but in a restricted form. Bruce recognised that the human misery that came from excessive drinking was most effectively combated through the moral influences of education, and;

[?] in the creation among the people of a high moral standard, of a state of feeling which will lead them to look upon drunkenness as a disgrace, and will give them a truer sense of what is due to their families as well as to themselves.²⁰⁹

Violent opposition greeted the bill. On the one hand, the drink trade voiced annoyance at not having been consulted and objected to various parts of the bill. On the other hand, the man-in-the-street saw his beer under threat and was easily persuaded to protest. 822,965 signatures were gathered onto 1,160 petitions against the bill, and Liberals lost seat after seat at by-elections. The Alliance and its supporters did not champion the bill as a whole, as mentioned earlier. Whilst recognising an earnest desire to tackle some of the deficiencies of the licensing system, and praising the 'general scope and spirit' of the government's bill, the Alliance believed it incorporated too many objectionable clauses. The creation of a vested interest through the proposal to give holders of licences a ten years' tenure instead of the existing one year, and the proposal of giving compensation to those holders whose licences were withdrawn, were two measures that particularly rankled. It failed to include local option for old licences as well as new ones and it allowed 'off' licences to be indefinitely increased. It was dismissed by one of the Alliance Vice-Presidents, James Haughton, as 'deserving of utter condemnation by every temperance reformer'.²¹⁰ The Alliance was accused of being fanatical and unpractical, among other things, preferring to promote its own Permissive Bill that was due to be debated in May. The most support it could offer was not to oppose the second reading in the hope of inserting an absolute ratepayers' veto and the abolition of all compensation clauses, in the committee stage. The other leading temperance organisations supported the bill, but it was dropped after five weeks, ostensibly because of the overwhelming pressure of other parliamentary business.²¹¹

In May 1872, a modified version of the failed 1871 bill was introduced by Home Secretary H. A. Bruce. It passed, after extensive discussion, as the Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing) Act, but was not applicable to Scotland.²¹² This Act, amended in 1874, governed the trade in intoxicating liquors for many years. It provided stiffer penalties for offences against public order, widened the powers of the police, forbade the sale of spirits for drinking on the premises ('on' drinking) to children under sixteen, and established new opening hours ? 5 a.m. to 12 p.m. in London and an hour less, at the justices' discretion, elsewhere. Sunday opening times were 1 p.m. – 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. – 11 p.m.

The Alliance cautiously welcomed the act's many invaluable provisions. The restrictive clauses concerning penalties for disorderly conduct and the shorter opening hours were particularly appreciated. The recognition of the permissive principle, however imperfectly, was welcomed. The abolition of appeals to quarter sessions on the refusal to grant a licence acknowledged that those living in the district were better acquainted with the requirements of the neighbourhood than gentlemen from other parts of the county. The discretion given to magistrates for fixing opening and closing times, although small, nevertheless recognised that localities had different requirements.²¹³ The government had realistically taken into consideration the position of the drink trade, for if it had comprehensively moved against it the opposition both inside and outside parliament would have been tremendous. Nevertheless, the trade regarded the 1872 Act as objectionable. The Alliance believed the trade's strength was exaggerated, and regretted the act had not gone further.

Eminent members of both political parties supported the Alliance, and so naturally it did not wish to see the licensing issue become a party one. But the die was cast, and sides were taken. The Alliance worked ever more closely with the Liberals, the drink trade

with the Conservatives. The Alliance had prophesied that the public was moving towards an acceptance of prohibition, but this was proved wrong when the Liberals were defeated in the 1874 election. Gladstone claimed bitterly in a letter to his brother, 'We have been borne down in a torrent of gin and beer'.²¹⁴

Conclusion

By 1872, the temperance movement still did not agree on the best means to secure a sober nation. The Alliance had been speaking with an increasingly authoritative voice, but others were still to be heard in the background. Joseph Livesey and others believed that less drastic policies than permissive legislation had a greater chance of success. They favoured a piece-meal approach to prohibition that included some of the following measures: Sunday closing, shorter weekday opening hours, stiffer penalties for habitual drunkards, and mixed licensing boards of magistrates and locally elected representatives. Given the Alliance's refusal to actively promote any legislative measure other than its own permissive bill, new organisations emerged in the 1860s. The Central Association for Stopping the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, the Licence Amendment League, and the National Association for Promoting Amendment in the Laws relating to the Liquor Traffic all offered more moderate means of reducing drunkenness. They attracted moderate men, many of whom were members of more than one reforming organisation.

The inability to unite necessarily weakened the temperance movement's position. The Alliance, conscious of the problem, was unable to either silence or incorporate the dissident voices. However, the failure to generate mass support to ensure the passing of prohibitory legislation forced a change in Alliance tactics from 1872. The Alliance encouraged electors to nominate parliamentary candidates favourable to the Permissive

Bill when those standing did not support the measure. If none could be found, then the Council pledged itself to find suitable men ‘so as to afford every elector an opportunity of recording his vote in favour of the Permissive Bill, until the question be decided’.²¹⁵ Gradually, the Liberal Party was targeted for use as a vehicle through which to achieve reform. The consequences of this step are outside the scope of this thesis.

Attention will now be given to the work of the temperance advocates in Lincoln.

Reference Notes

Chapter 5 The Inimical Trade

¹ For example, in ‘Legislation essential to the more rapid progress of the temperance reformation’ the author argues in 1840 for the legislature to supplement the efforts to persuade the people to abstain from strong drink, (*The Journal of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society*, vol. II, no. 47, Nov. 21 1840, pp. 377-8).

² Harrison: 1970, p. 376.

³ *The Staunch Teetotaler*, March 1867, p. 35.

⁴ ‘Working Men as Advocates of Teetotalism’, *The Progressionist*, no. 20, 1853, pp. 301-2; *The Staunch Teetotaler*, Feb. 1867, p. 20.

⁵ *The British Temperance Advocate*, vol. XXIII, 1856, p. 64.

⁶ *The Teetotal Progressionist*, no. 11, Nov. 1852, p. 167.

⁷ *The Progressionist*, no. 17, 1853, p. 259.

⁸ Carter: 1933, p. 73.

⁹ ‘Revivals’, *The Staunch Teetotaler*, June 1867, p. 82.

¹⁰ Burns: 1889a, p. 291.

¹¹ Carter: 1933, pp. 70-4.

¹² Burns: 1889a, p. 344.

¹³ *Executive Report 1853*: p. 20.

¹⁴ A teetotal settlement was established in New Brunswick in 1842 by Irish settlers from Cork and Kerry.

¹⁵ Lees: 1886, p. 242.

¹⁶ The time span of this thesis only permits analysis of the first twenty years of the Alliance. Its heyday was the end of the nineteenth/early twentieth century. For details of the Alliance up to 1953 see Mark Hayler’s *The Vision of a Century 1853? 1953*. For 1872-1900 see Dingle: *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England*.

¹⁷ Lees: 1864, p. 88.

¹⁸ Harrison: 1994, p. 182.

¹⁹ The Maine Law is considered in this thesis to be synonymous with prohibition. The terms are used interchangeably.

²⁰ Members were: Alderman Wm. Harvey, chairman; Rev. W. Wright, Nathaniel Card, W. Gawthorpe, T. H. Barker, J. Richardson, J. Gaskill, and Rev. Dawson Burns, (Hayler: 1953, p. 23).

²¹ The headquarters was only moved permanently from Manchester to London in 1918. A purpose-built base, Alliance House at Westminster, was opened on May 25, 1938. This remains the headquarters of the Alliance today.

²² See Hayler: 1953, pp. 25-8 for details of Sir Walter Trevelyan.

- ²³ Pope attempted to become the Alliance parliamentary leader by standing for election for Stoke-on-Trent in 1857 and 1859. He was defeated on both occasions.
- ²⁴ For details of the London Auxiliary see Hayler's *The Vision of a Century*, pp. 63-8.
- ²⁵ Hayler: 1953, p. 18; Carter: 1933, pp. 68-9 and Winskill: 1897, p. 196.
- ²⁶ For the interesting relationship between Lawson and the Alliance see Dingle: 1980, p. 181. For anecdotal details see Longmate: 1968, pp. 216-22. For a sympathetic portrait see Hayler: 1953, pp. 69-83, where he is portrayed as one of the Alliance heroes.
- ²⁷ See a private letter written by Bright in Lees: 1904, pp. 83-4.
- ²⁸ Quoted in Hayler: 1953, p. 36.
- ²⁹ 'The British Prohibitionists 1853-1872. A Biographical Analysis', *International Review of Social History*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1970, pp. 375-467.
- ³⁰ *Executive Report 1857*: p. 5.
- ³¹ Hayler: 1953, p. 36 & Dingle: 1980, p. 14.
- ³² For discussion of the Executive see Dingle: 1980, pp. 181-4.
- ³³ *Executive Report 1858*: p. 9.
- ³⁴ *The Alliance*, April 21 1855, p. 339. The *Executive Report 1857*, p. 9, declared that the disturbances evident at Alliance meetings had largely disappeared, with the exception of those caused by Edinburgh University students. All references to *The Alliance* are from bound volumes in Alliance House, London.
- ³⁵ For more on Alliance agents see Dingle: 1980, pp. 184-9.
- ³⁶ *Executive Report 1853*: p. 6.
- ³⁷ *Id. ibid.*
- ³⁸ Lees: *One Hundred Objections to a Maine Law; being a Sequel to the 'Argument' of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*, p. 7. Henceforward *One Hundred Objections*.
- ³⁹ *Executive Report 1859*: p. 16.
- ⁴⁰ *The Alliance*, Nov. 4 1854, p. 139. See also Dingle: 1980, pp. 191-203.
- ⁴¹ £420 of the £937 available was spent, (*Executive Report 1859*: p. 19).
- ⁴² *Executive Report 1866*: p. 5.
- ⁴³ £500 of the legacy was transferred to the Alliance Special Fund on the authority of the General Council. The N.T.L. and B.T.L. were much more generously considered than the Alliance, receiving £7,500 each from Eaton's estate.
- ⁴⁴ From 1868, the item 'salaries and expenses of District Agents' was broken down into 'salaries and grants to District Agencies' and 'expenses of District Agents'. It then became clear that the former took the largest share by far (£2,927 as opposed to £506 in 1868; £3,221 as opposed to £592 in 1871; £5,593 as opposed to £1,251 in 1872). Grants increased as action on a local level intensified, for example when promoting the Permissive Bill, or electioneering, (there was a general election in 1868). However, as mentioned previously, from around 1870 the auxiliaries were increasingly seen as a drain on Alliance resources, and they were also a source of friction at the annual General Meeting. From the early 1870s, the Alliance preferred to concentrate its pressure at Westminster and all but the largest auxiliaries (in London and Birmingham) were neglected.
- ⁴⁵ All data relating to Alliance accounts 1853-1872 is taken from the balance sheets included in the *Executive Reports*.
- ⁴⁶ Lees: 1904, pp. 127, 174 & 71-4 and Hayler: 1953, pp. 21 & 24; for Lees' life, see the sympathetic biography written by his son, Frederic Arnold Lees, *Dr. Frederic Richard Lees, F.S.A. Edin.. A Biography*.
- ⁴⁷ Joseph was later a surveyor, architect and speculator in house property, (Lees: 1904, p. 8).
- ⁴⁸ For the 1859 Ripon election, including his withdrawal speech, see Lees: 1904, pp. 99-103. His second withdrawal was in 1868, for the Northern division of Northamptonshire. His main objective for standing had been 'to educate the electors [?] in sound political principles'. He also loved a fight, (Lees: 1904, pp. 119-21). His third candidature was for the borough of Northampton. Fellow Radical Charles Bradlaugh was angry with Lees for not standing down in his favour, thereby facilitating the Tory victory. Lees came last, Bradlaugh was last-but-one. Lees' supporters, 'the working-men of Northampton' were not disappointed, however, and presented him with a gold watch and chain for his efforts. The fourth attempt was in the general election, standing for Leeds, 1873. Here he managed to split the Liberal vote, causing the defeat of the teetotaler Edward Baines, who had been a member for Leeds for fifteen years. For details of the Lees point of view, see Lees: 1904, pp. 156-73.
- ⁴⁹ This lecture was such a success in printed form that sales enabled the relief of the large Bradford Temperance Hall debt.
- ⁵⁰ As well as writing specific rejoinders to particular individuals/newspapers, he also wrote; text books on temperance, science and morals; on the misunderstandings concerning alcohol's medicinal and dietetic value; the history of alcohol and of temperance; the physiological effects of alcohol; the Bible and temperance; and

also on such topics as Liberalism, Owenism, logic, politics, religion, philosophy, health and housekeeping. His favourite areas of study were temperance, philosophy and politics.

⁵¹ Winskill: 1897, p. 162.

⁵² Longmate: 1964, p. 152.

⁵³ Lees: 1904, p. 43.

⁵⁴ Longmate: 1968, pp. 151-7.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Longmate: p. 151, but originally in a report of the *North of England Advertiser*, according to Lees' son, (Lees: 1904, p. 81).

⁵⁶ LC: April 14, 1843.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Longmate: 1968, p. 152.

⁵⁸ Gough's early life and subsequent career were outlined in chapter 3.

⁵⁹ In 1858, after the conclusion of the libel case, Lees proposed an amicable separation to the Alliance, fearing his close association with the organisation may prejudice it and affect his own treasured independence. He was temporarily and reluctantly relieved of his lecturing duties. This was probably a financially imprudent decision, for there is evidence that the acrimony generated by the court case led to Lees' ostracism, especially in London. This made it more difficult for him to obtain remunerative lecturing appointments. He was presented with at least two monetary gifts from his supporters, donations having been received on a national basis. That of 1860 was for one thousand guineas. He seems to have been lecturing full-time again by 1860.

⁶⁰ Animosity between the London-based N.T.L. and the Manchester-based Alliance was still very evident in 1862. The opening of the 1862 National Exhibition was deemed an appropriate occasion to have a world temperance convention in London. The organisation was undertaken by the N.T.L. However, it was accused of aiming at selective participation. An attempt was made by the United Temperance Council, (formed in Leeds, 1860, to promote the temperance movement), to unite the Suasionists and Prohibitionists through joint participation, but this proved a failure. The Alliance, allegedly on the request of the 'leading Temperance organisations of the country', organised a counter International Convention for the promotion of Temperance and Prohibition. According to the Alliance, their own congress was an 'unqualified success', for the leading temperance organisations were present, as well as more than 700 of the most active temperance men of Europe and America, (1,232 members and delegates). The N.T.L. Convention was 'as successful as could be expected', (*Executive Report 1862*: p. 9).

⁶¹ Lees: 1904, p. 85; fn. Lees: 1904, pp. 90-1; *ibid.* p. 94.

⁶² Dow was most actively supported by the Alliance. He toured England for four months in 1857, speaking on Alliance platforms, and again in 1866 and 1873, each time lending valuable impetus to the British prohibition cause. See 'The Alliance Annual Meetings' in *Meliora*, vol. X, 1867, p. 373.

⁶³ Quoted in Lees: 1857, p. 102. Lees' italics.

⁶⁴ Lees: 1904, p. 86.

⁶⁵ The Executive Report for 1857 noted the controversy had not been between the Alliance and *any considerable number of temperance men*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Lees: 1857, pp. 103-4.

⁶⁷ The civil war, begun in 1861, was to prove much more effective at damaging temperance work in the United States than any other action. The great influx of immigrants into the country, most of whom were not sympathetic to temperance measures, also weakened the movement.

⁶⁸ Longmate: 1968, p. 151.

⁶⁹ Raistrick: 1972, p. 35.

⁷⁰ Lees: 1904, pp. 87-8.

⁷¹ Longmate: 1964, p. 154.

⁷² *Alliance First Prize Essay, An Argument Legal and Historical concerning the Traffic in Strong Drink*, 1856.

⁷³ From the preface to the second revised edition, 1856. All references are taken from this edition. The work catapulted Lees to the forefront of temperance advocacy and greatly increased his reputation as a writer both at home and abroad.

⁷⁴ Lees: 1856, p. 18. My focus lies solely with Lees' use of Bentham's work, and his attempts to harness its popularity to his own cause? Bentham interpreted by Lees.

⁷⁵ Lees: 1856, p. 20.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

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- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 55 & 65.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-112.
- ⁸⁴ Lees: 1864, pp. 83 & 87.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.
- ⁸⁷ pp. 106-9.
- ⁸⁸ *First Meeting of the General Council of the UKA*: 1853, p. 2.
- ⁸⁹ Dingle: 1980, p. 205. Chapter 9, pp. 204-27 of Dingle's *Campaign for Prohibition*, although concentrating on the 1872-95 period, is very good on Alliance campaigning techniques.
- ⁹⁰ This was a three-day conference of over four hundred ministers, convened by the Alliance. Its ensuing declaration was eventually signed by over 3,000 ministers. This included the statement: 'the wisest course for those who fear God and regard man, is to encourage every legitimate effort for the entire suppression of the trade, by the power of the national will, and through the form of a legislative enactment', (*Executive Report 1857*: p. 13).
- ⁹¹ *Executive Report 1857*: p. 17.
- ⁹² *Executive Report 1868*: p. 5.
- ⁹³ *Executive Report 1855*: p. 12.
- ⁹⁴ *Executive Report 1858*: pp. 4-5.
- ⁹⁵ *Executive Report 1872*: p. 65 and *Executive Report 1866*: p. 8.
- ⁹⁶ Before the 1831 election, the Anti-Slavery Society urged its local branches to require candidates to pledge their support for abolition. Between 140 and 200 MPs 'seem to have committed themselves', (Parry: 1993, pp. 97-8). In 1856, the N.T.L. urged electors 'to obtain from such gentlemen as may be nominated as representatives a distinct pledge to support any measure for the reduction of beer-houses as rapidly as the present licenses expire, and the closing of all houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors at an earlier hour on the Saturday evening, and during the whole of Sunday', (Gourlay: 1906, p. 282).
- ⁹⁷ *Executive Report 1865*: p. 45.
- ⁹⁸ *Executive Report 1861*: p. 14.
- ⁹⁹ 'An Address of the Executive Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance to the Electors and Non-Electors of Great Britain and Ireland', 1859, in *United Kingdom Alliance Documents*, vol. 3.
- ¹⁰⁰ *An Address to Electors and Non-Electors*: 1859, pp. 1-3.
- ¹⁰¹ In 1856, the N.T.L. sent a deputation to Gaythorne Hardy, MP, promoter of a bill designed to transfer from the Excise to the magistrates the control of beer-house licenses. They urged him to provide also for the gradual extinction of beer-house licenses, and for earlier closing on Saturday nights. The dissolution of parliament invalidated these efforts. In 1859 and 1860, Home Secretaries Estcourt and G. C. Lewis were urged by the N.T.L. to amend the Beerhouse Act, to no avail, (Gourlay: 1906, pp. 281-2 & 283).
- ¹⁰² *Executive Report 1858*: p. 4.
- ¹⁰³ Dingle: 1980, p. 188 and Hayler: 1953, p. 41.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- ¹⁰⁵ At the Annual General Session in Preston, 1860, the magistrates of Lancashire under the presidency of the temperance advocate Lord Stanley, sent a petition to this effect to parliament, (*Executive Report 1861*: p. 2).
- ¹⁰⁶ *Executive Report 1859*: p. 17. Similarities with the Anti-Corn Law League tactics, mentioned in chapter 3, can be discerned here.
- ¹⁰⁷ The vote was not conferred when the owner was a woman or recently arrived.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Executive Report 1863*: p. 18.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Executive Report 1866*: p. 5.
- ¹¹⁰ *Executive Report 1860*: p. 4.
- ¹¹¹ For Baines' personal testimony see *The Experience of Edward Baines*, 1852; Gourlay: 1906, pp. 291, 293 & 301.
- ¹¹² *Executive Report 1860*: p. 19.
- ¹¹³ Gourlay: 1906, p. 282.
- ¹¹⁴ The Alliance was similarly unhelpful concerning Bruce's Licensing Bill of 1871, (see page 389).
- ¹¹⁵ *Executive Report 1861*: p. 16.
- ¹¹⁶ Lees: 1857, pp. 75-7.
- ¹¹⁷ Mill: 1975, p. 82.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- ¹²⁰ The Executive Committee praised Mill's keen logic but lamented his 'sadly inaccurate and scanty' knowledge of the liquor traffic, (*Executive Report 1859*: p. 10). For a stinging reply to Mill see 'Liberty and

the Liquor Traffic', in *The United Kingdom Alliance Monthly Papers*, no. 5, May 1859. Also, Dawson Burns' 'Letter to John Stuart Mill, Esq.', from the *Alliance Weekly News*, March 26, 1859, (printed together with the former article in the *Alliance Monthly Paper* no. 5. These are in *United Kingdom Alliance Documents* vol. 3, Alliance House).

¹²¹ He was in harmony with Mill here, who asserted that being drunk at home should not be punishable, whereas a soldier drunk on duty should be chastised for the question was not one of liberty, but of morality or law.

¹²² Lees: 1857, p.32.

¹²³ *Executive Report 1872*: pp. 19-20.

¹²⁴ Lees: 1857, p. 13.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89. The example of Lynn was given. Despite having a Literary Institute and Library with very low admission costs, the existence of an above average number of public houses meant Lynn was still notorious for drunkenness. The neighbourhood of the Free Library in Deansgate, Manchester was another example of 'frightful intemperance and debauchery'.

¹²⁹ Quoted in Dingle: 1980, p. 23.

¹³⁰ Lees: 1857, p. 23.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹³³ *Id. ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

¹³⁵ *The Alliance*, April 14 1855, p. 321.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, May 19 1855, p. 367.

¹³⁷ Thomas Harriot, who denounced the Maine Law in London in April 1855, renounced his challenge when Alliance agent Edward Grubb took it up. He was found to be on the brewers' side, (*The Alliance*, July 7 1855, p. 421).

¹³⁸ *The Alliance*, July 14 1855, p. 431.

¹³⁹ *The Progressionist*, April 1853, p. 239.

¹⁴⁰ Carter: 1933, pp. 83-6.

¹⁴¹ *Executive Report 1857*: p. 18.

¹⁴² Quoted in Dingle: 1980, p. 19.

¹⁴³ Dingle: 1980, p. 18.

¹⁴⁴ A keen political radical, Newman espoused many reforming causes including Lords reform, female suffrage, and direct accountability of MPs to constituents. He supported the Alliance from the late 1850s, 'largely because he felt it would rejuvenate politics, cut government costs and promote decentralisation', (Harrison: 1970, pp. 427-8).

¹⁴⁵ Harrison: 1994, pp. 184-5.

¹⁴⁶ Highet: *post* 1923, p. 260.

¹⁴⁷ *Executive Report 1872*: p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ *Executive Report 1871*: p. 89.

¹⁴⁹ From this time, concerted political pressure was exerted on members of parliament by an organised body defending the drink interest, the Licensed Victuallers' National Defence League.

¹⁵⁰ *Executive Report 1871*: pp. 18-9.

¹⁵¹ See *Executive Report 1872*: pp. 53-5 for a number of quotations from various articles in *The Times* that show a move away from support of the drink interest, especially after the 1872 Intoxicating Liquor Licensing Act was passed.

¹⁵² From *The Times*, quoted in Lees: 1904, p. 112.

¹⁵³ The Alliance magnanimously supported temperance efforts to get a Sunday Closing Bill debated in the Commons at this time. When introduction proved impossible, regret but not surprise was expressed. Playing the waiting game seemed to have been vindicated, and comprehensive rather than piecemeal legislation was deemed more liable to succeed, (*Executive Report 1861*: p. 15).

¹⁵⁴ *Executive Report 1863*: p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ Carter: 1933, pp. 88-92.

¹⁵⁶ A similar situation existed in America where the Washingtonians (Moral Suasionists) opposed legislative interference with the liquor trade.

¹⁵⁷ *The Staunch Teetotaler*, December 1868, p. 380.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 1867, p. 35.

- ¹⁵⁹ The Alliance boasted in 1861 that it received 'great co-operation' from temperance societies and advocates, especially the B.T.L., Northern Temperance League, Western Temperance Association and South Wales Temperance Association. It denied its agitation absorbed the temperance agitation, but claimed it ran 'side by side with it, both deriving and imparting strength', (*Executive Report 1861*: p. 9).
- ¹⁶⁰ This was followed up some years later by *True Temperance Teaching; shewing the errors of the Alliance and the Permissive Bill*, 1873.
- ¹⁶¹ Livesey: 1862, p. 5.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ¹⁶⁴ In 1872, Home Secretary Bruce expressed the same opinion. Speaking in the Commons debate on the Permissive Bill he said: 'we should have continual opposition [and] elections, with riots and disorder, which it would be the duty of those in authority to put down', (*Executive Report 1873*: pp. 11-2).
- ¹⁶⁵ Livesey: 1862, p. 16.
- ¹⁶⁶ Harrison, 1994, p. 185.
- ¹⁶⁷ Carter: 1933, pp. 90-1 and Harrison: 1994, p. 185.
- ¹⁶⁸ For a full discussion of the Livesey/Alliance debate over strategy, albeit pro Livesey, see Carter: 1933, pp. 94-123.
- ¹⁶⁹ *The Principles and Policy of the United Kingdom Alliance Vindicated, in Reply to Recent Objections* 1862, pp. 1-2. Henceforward *A Vindication*.
- ¹⁷⁰ *A Vindication*: 1862, p. 39.
- ¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- ¹⁷² Livesey saw education as not having penetrated the working classes sufficiently to effect the desired change in attitudes, and insisted on greater personal efforts by temperance workers. The Alliance, although applauding the means, regarded education as having failed as the sole agent of change.
- ¹⁷³ *A Vindication*: 1862, p. 18.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ¹⁷⁶ *True Policy Vindicated. A Friendly Correspondence between Joseph Livesey and Mr. T. H. Barker*: 1870.
- ¹⁷⁷ Burns: 1889a, p. 274.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.
- ¹⁷⁹ The *Alliance News* published numerous reports concerning the bill.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Executive Report 1863*: p. 12.
- ¹⁸¹ 'Resolutions of Select Committee on Public Houses, 1854', in *Executive Report 1861*, appendix.
- ¹⁸² At Gravesend, Kent, the magistrates allowed 85 out of 90 public houses to remain open on Sunday afternoon to cater for arrivals by rail or boat. In Eccles, Lancashire, the police denied the crowds who had come from Manchester to enjoy the Wake Sunday access to a public house, (Longmate: 1968, p. 163).
- ¹⁸³ See 'The Sunday Beer Bill. Agitation or Inaction?' for a typical temperance reaction to the repeal, in *The British Temperance Advocate*, vol. XXII, 1855, p. 138.
- ¹⁸⁴ Burns: 1889a, p. 383; Longmate: 1968, p. 171.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Executive Report 1855*: p. 13.
- ¹⁸⁶ Carter: 1933, pp. 78-9.
- ¹⁸⁷ The Cobden-Chevalier Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, 1860, wiped out hundreds of customs duties. His 1860 Customs Duties Act lowered the duty on foreign spirits from 15s to 10s 5d. and raised the duty on rum imported from the colonies from 8s 2d to 10s 2d. The duties on wines were graduated according to alcoholic strength.
- ¹⁸⁸ For example, see 'Inland revenue Bill', in *United Kingdom Alliance Documents*, vol. 3, p. 13.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill*: c.1860, p. 1.
- ¹⁹⁰ Gladstone admitted the failure in his 1861 budget speech.
- ¹⁹¹ *Executive Report 1860*: pp. 10-15; Burns: 1889a, p. 439.
- ¹⁹² *The British Temperance Advocate*, Sept. 1 1860, p. 103.
- ¹⁹³ Burns: 1889a, p. 449.
- ¹⁹⁴ A wholesale wine licence had been priced at ten guineas and a retail wine licence at two under the Wine Licence Act of 1860. Off licences for beer were added in 1863.
- ¹⁹⁵ Quoted in *Executive Report 1872*: p. 18.
- ¹⁹⁶ Quoted in Longmate: 1968, p. 228.
- ¹⁹⁷ *The British Temperance Advocate*, Oct. 1 1867, p. 485.
- ¹⁹⁸ This was not a new privilege, for the General Licensing Act of George IV had authorised the sale of liquor at fairs etc. under certain conditions. Modifications were made to this privilege in 1862 and 1863.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Executive Report 1863*: p. 8.

²⁰⁰ *Executive Report 1864*: p. 4.

²⁰¹ In 1865 it was modified, and the areas covered by the permissive clause extended.

²⁰² *Executive Report 1864*: p. 7. In any area classed as a corporation or district under the improvement commissioners, twenty or more ratepayers could initiate the proceedings by a simple memorial to the mayor, or chairman of the board. He was required to convene a meeting of the council or board, and if a majority of those present were in favour of adopting the act, it would come into force a month from the date of the resolution. Notice of this had to be forwarded to the Home Secretary.

²⁰³ The Alliance, although supportive of retention, would not put itself forward in its defence given that it believed in prohibition as the only true road to sobriety.

²⁰⁴ *Malt, Malt Liquor, Malt Tax, Beer, and Barley, being a reply to Sir Fitzroy Kelly, M. P. for East Suffolk, Mr. Everett, Mr. Smee, and other gentlemen, on the Repeal of the Malt Tax*, 1866.

²⁰⁵ Burns: 1897, p. 175 and Wilson: 1940, p. 192.

²⁰⁶ He regained it with a small majority after a close contest in the next election at Carlisle in 1867, the number of voters under the new Household Suffrage having trebled. He lost his fight for the Cockermouth Division of Cumberland in the 1885 general election by ten votes, but returned to parliament the following year on the retirement of the Tory who had beaten him. His majority was 1,004 votes. He lost his seat in 1900, returning in 1903 to represent Camborne, Cornwall, on the death of the temperance campaigner W. S. Caine (1842-1903). He was returned in 1906 for his old seat at Cockermouth but died in that year.

²⁰⁷ Dingle: 1980, p. 28.

²⁰⁸ He had been promising a comprehensive measure for some time.

²⁰⁹ Quoted in Carter: 1933, p. 151.

²¹⁰ Quoted in Longmate: 1968, p. 231.

²¹¹ *Executive Report 1871*: p. 13-5; Carter: 1933, pp. 155-163.

²¹² For a detailed account of its progress through the Commons and Lords see *Executive Report 1872*: pp. 17-37.

²¹³ *Executive Report 1872*: p. 37.

²¹⁴ Quoted in Longmate: 1968, p. 231. On the other hand, Eugenio Biagini argues that Gladstone's broad programme of fiscal reconstruction involving central and local taxation and repeal of income tax was the cause of defeat. Ambitious in nature, there was little time for the electors to study or understand the 'elaborate and sophisticated attempt to update the 'social contract'', (Biagini: 2000, p. 54).

²¹⁵ *Executive Report 1873*: p. 1.

CHAPTER SIX

TEMPERANCE IN LINCOLN 1830-72



Temperance Hall, St. Swithin's Square, Lincoln, 1900

Elvin, L., *Lincoln as it was*, 1974, n.p.

A certain member of the Lincoln Temperance Society had the misfortune to lose his [membership] ticket; and on Friday last the inhabitants of the city were amused by hearing the town crier announce the affair; and expressing the pleasure which the gentleman who found it would have in restoring it to the owner, on his paying the expenses incurred.

The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, January 31 1834, p. 3.

Geographical and socio-economic aspects of Lincolnshire

The historic cathedral city of Lincoln is situated in the county of Lincoln ? Lincolnshire. The county borders the North Sea in the east, being almost equidistant between the Scottish border and the south coast of England (see Map 1). Formerly prosperous, Lincolnshire had much declined in importance by the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was attributed to the silting up of canal, river and seaports, leading to a downturn in trade. In 1820, for example, the only navigable inlet from the sea was the mouth of the river Witham, near Boston.¹ The effects of industrialisation inverted this trend, however, and the rising population numbers attest to this. In 1820, the county had 245,900 inhabitants whereas in 1831 the population had increased to 317,465. In 1851, it was 407,222, and twenty years later Lincolnshire's population was 436,599.²

Crossed by various rivers, the county was, and still is, largely agricultural. The reclaiming of marshes and fens in the east greatly increased the arable acreage in the nineteenth century. In the 1820s, a great variety of grains was grown in the higher lands to the north, whilst oats, hemp, flax, woad 'and almost every other article of culture' were produced on the lower grounds. Wheat was increasingly grown during the nineteenth century, the amount sold in Lincoln market more than trebling between 1825 and 1834.³

Lincolnshire farmers were also growers of hops and barley, for which the best customers were the brewers of beer. Along with the counties of Cambridge and York, Lincolnshire was the principal grower of corn in England. Large parts of the county were given over to the grazing of cattle, but Lincolnshire was also famous for its horses and sheep. Lincoln had an important role as a trading centre for these animals. There were 40,000 sheep at Lincoln fair in 1849, and about 70,000 in 1857. It is not surprising to learn that farmers and farm workers comprised the largest occupational group in Lincolnshire in the mid-nineteenth century. In the peak year of 1861, 66,000 were engaged in agriculture.⁴

Around 1900, Lincolnshire was described as having 'little society' but 'large numbers of sheep'. There were approximately 66 landowners in the county who owned estates of more than 3,000 acres. Together they owned around 570,000 acres, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the county. Within this group, 17 (largely non-resident) landowners owned over 10,000 acres each. The biggest landowner was Lord Yarborough who held over 50,000 acres, mostly in north Lindsey. The Duke of Ancaster, Lord Monson, Lord Brownlow⁵, Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Charles Chaplin all owned over 20,000 acres each. The county was largely run by agents, attorneys and county bankers, who managed the landlord/tenant business. The best-placed county clergy were generally relatives of the aristocracy who also acted as magistrates. Their outlook was conservative, although they placed importance on education and charity work.⁶

Despite an increase in the provision of elementary education in Lincolnshire from 1800 to 1850, around 30% of men and 50% of women were illiterate in the 1840s. The situation was only substantially improved around 1900. In the county, the established church was the leader in setting up day elementary schools (National schools), despite the great increase of non-conformity in the area. The Methodists established hundreds of Sunday schools, but relatively few day schools. The curriculum of the National schools

was described as 'narrow and tedious', and there was often an estrangement between the teacher (parson) and the agricultural community due to the differing cultural backgrounds.⁷

The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 dealt a severe blow to Lincolnshire farmers. Corn prices dropped sharply, causing knock on difficulties to landlords who were faced with problems collecting rents from impoverished tenant farmers. Corn law repeal was not entirely to blame for the farmers' plight, but it shouldered all the blame. Repeal had been feared and hard-fought, and the direst predictions seemed justified in the depression years immediately following repeal. In the long term, however, free trade was beneficial for the Lincolnshire farmer for it encouraged improvements on the land, especially drainage. Hundreds of acres were brought into cultivation in the late 1840s and 50s, bringing prosperity. This was made possible through mass-produced clay pipes. The wages of the average Lincolnshire labourer were 'almost uniformly good' around 1855. He was considered 'a fair specimen of the agricultural peasantry of England [with] none of the crushed, helpless, serf-like bearing which meets the eye in some parts of our island'.⁸ In the latter part of the century, a trade depression hit Lincolnshire hard, leading to many business failures, alcoholism and suicides.⁹

Lincolnshire was Whig from 1727 until the 1840s, the Conservatives not being strong enough for over a generation to even take them to the poll. Nevertheless, the Conservatives had some influence in county politics. With the 1832 Reform Act the county was divided into two (north and south Lincolnshire), each electing two MPs to parliament.¹⁰

Lincolnshire was divided into three administrative divisions: Holland, Kesteven and Lindsey, the latter being much the largest. In the nineteenth century, each had its own magistrates, courts and quarter sessions. Lincolnshire had 9 separate commissioners of the peace, and quarter sessions were regularly held in 13 towns. Benches varied in size, but

three magistrates normally sat. Squires and clergymen conducted most of Lincolnshire's business, the upper class not being regular attendees at the courts. Under an 1824 Act, Lincoln gaol (the castle) belonged to all three divisions, and gaol sessions were held in Lincoln four times a year, when most magistrates attended. The principal session was held in autumn.¹¹ Map 2 on page 539 shows the division of the county, its towns, country seats and communications around 1885; that is, the results of nineteenth-century progress. Map 3 on page 540 shows the parliamentary boundaries for 1832, 1867 and 1885.

Lincoln

History, distinguishing features and general development up to 1872

The present city of Lincoln, capital of Lincolnshire, lies 132 miles north west of London. It was settled by ancient Britons, and has been occupied since Roman times. The 9th legion occupied a timber fortress on Lincoln's hilltop from about AD 48-71, after which it moved to York and Lincoln became a *colonia* ? a settlement for time-expired soldiers. Many Roman vestiges remain in the city today, for example Newport Arch, the former north gate of the Roman city and the only Roman arch in England spanning a main road.¹²

In 1068, Lincoln castle was built by William the Conqueror on the hill that dominates the city. The contemporary city's 'pride and glory', the cathedral, is also of Norman origin (1086-1092). Remigius, the first bishop of Lincoln and friend of William I, moved his see from Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln in 1072 and thereafter ordered the cathedral's construction on the summit of the aforementioned hill. As the surrounding land is flat, it can be seen for many miles.

The configuration of the town between 1830 and 1872, the period addressed by this thesis, did not alter substantially. The cathedral, castle and a cluster of adjoining houses

constituted the upper city, or 'above hill'. The gentry largely resided there, although slums appeared in later years as the poor gradually replaced the wealthy, who moved out of the city. On the steep hillside was the high street, (the Roman Ermine Street), flanked by houses. This part comprised two parishes, the Bail and Close. The high street crossed the river Witham and stretched on through the valley to the south. To the west of the high street was the inland port of Brayford Pool, the commercial centre of the city. This part was known as 'below hill', and housed the poorer inhabitants. It was an important site for the later foundries, the waterway (and then the railway) serving as a vital transport link.

The Witham flows through the city centre today, as it did at the turn of the nineteenth century. Its present importance is much diminished, however, for with the coming of the railways in the 1840s/50s it lost its role as the major means of transport of goods. Oats, corn and wool were particularly transported via the Witham, whereas coals were predominantly brought in via the Roman Fossdyke canal ? 'the city's means of communication with the rest of the world'. 40,000 tons of coal were transported, almost entirely from the coal fields of Nottingham and Leeds, in the 1840s. The Fossdyke runs between the Witham at Lincoln and the Trent at Torksey, giving access by way of the Trent to the Humber and Yorkshire rivers and thereby the great corn and wool markets of the West Riding, and then by canal to Manchester.¹³

Lincoln Corporation was undertaker of the canal by virtue of an Act of 1671. In 1741, when the canal was in a deplorable state, the corporation had granted a lease for 999 years to Richard Ellison of Thorne. After improvements, (over £36,000 was spent), the Fossdyke yielded over £7,000 in tonnage dues of 1d. per ton per mile. In view of the money to be made, the corporation vainly attempted to recover control of the canal and litigation ensued. The lease was finally sold to the Great Northern Railway Company, who paid the corporation the original £75 per annum rent, and reduced the tonnage dues.¹⁴

Just before the beginning of the period under study, Lincoln had maintained the characteristics of a predominately agricultural market town. Even in the early 1840s, Lincoln had very little manufacturing industry and depended largely on the extensive trade associated with agriculture. A large number of the inhabitants worked in connection with the numerous corn, flour, bone¹⁵ and saw mills, breweries, tanneries, maltkilns and depots for merchandise.¹⁶ Steam-powered river packets provided transport, and steam was gradually introduced into the mills from the mid 1830s. The first steam mill at Lincoln was erected in 1824.¹⁷

Tall chimneys became a familiar sight on Brayford and the Waterside. Charles Seely, William Rudgard, William Foster, and Doughty and Son all had important mills at that time. Seely was a leading corn merchant, Lincoln mayor in 1840-41 and Radical MP from 1847. William Rudgard, maltster and leading corn merchant, was mayor in 1839-40. He was rough-spoken, stubborn, 'a good hater' and described as 'an overbearing ruffian' by a fellow citizen.¹⁸ There were five major wholesale millers in the mid 1840s. From October 1 1833 to April 1 1844, 59,000 quarters of wheat were sold in Lincoln market, of which the five major millers bought 43,000 quarters. Most of this was converted into flour and sent to Manchester, Stockport, Staleybridge and Ashton. Most barley and malt went to Manchester. The raw materials and finished products were either bought from, or sold to, the farmers. Flour, malt and ale were Lincoln's chief products, coal being perhaps the most important item brought into the city. Salt and lime were also important imports, principally for the farmers.

By the mid 1800s, Lincoln was showing noticeable signs of development. The general agricultural boom of the 1850s not only benefited the rural areas but affected the city of Lincoln too. Shopkeepers, builders, the makers of agricultural machinery, and even charities profited. Industrialisation finally caught up with the semi-isolated city, bringing

with it the usual influx of labourers from the countryside. Boys came in as apprentices and labourers, girls as domestic servants. Houses, churches and chapels were all built, the former generally of poor quality ‘tucked away in yards and alleys, or spread along the banks of the waterways’.¹⁹ They were mainly sited ‘downhill’, in the lower part of the city. The wealthier citizens gradually began to abandon the city centre and the houses surrounding the cathedral and castle, making way for the much poorer newcomers.

With the coming of the railways in the 1840s and 1850s, Lincoln was finally able to expand for there was a marked impetus in trade. Many railway projects had been mooted in the 1830s and 40s, generating intense interest in the city.²⁰ However, after intense debate involving numerous interests Lincoln only managed to secure branch lines. In 1845, the Midland Railway Company obtained an act of parliament for a railway from Nottingham to Newark and Lincoln. This was opened in August 1846. The Great Northern Railway’s loop line from Peterborough via Boston to Lincoln was opened on 17 October 1848, (the direct line from London to Peterborough was opened in 1850). The Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company completed its branch line to Gainsborough and its line from Lincoln to Market Rasen in 1849. This connected with the direct line from London to York. In 1867, the five-hour journey from Lincoln to London was cut to three-and-a-half hours, when the Peterborough-Doncaster branch line from Grantham to Lincoln was opened.²¹

Demography

Lincoln's decennial population figures from 1801 to 1871 are given below.²²

Table 5

Lincoln population 1801-1871

	Population	Increase	Percentage increase
1801	7,205	?	?
1811	8,589	1,384	19
1821	9,995	1,406	16
1831	11,217	1,222	12
1841	13,806	2,589	23
1851	17,536	3,730	27
1861	20,995	3,459	20
1871	26,723	5,728	27

Morris and Co.'s Commercial Directory & Gazetteer of Lincolnshire: 1868, p. 2. Figures for 1871 are from Hill: 1974, p. 306.

As compared to earlier periods, Lincoln grew very rapidly in the four decades from 1831-71 (138% increase). There is a particularly marked rise in population from 1841. This reflects the increasingly industrial nature of Lincoln at this time, and concomitant increase in employment opportunities. Rural immigration was encouraged by the increase in work opportunities afforded by the rising number of (small-scale) factories opening in Lincoln. Also, most of Lincolnshire's marshland and fens had been reclaimed by this time, and there was a downswing in rural employment opportunities in the county that mirrored the situation nationwide. This tended to push people into the towns and cities in search of work. People also moved into Lincoln from outside the county. In 1851, of the 9,801 people in Lincoln over 20 years of age, 6,779 had been born outside the city, and of those, 2,811 outside the county.²³

The city charter making Lincoln a free city was granted by Charles II in 1660. The title of 'freeman' was granted by Henry II (d.1189). Over time, a large body of freemen grew up, especially non-resident ones. All sons of freemen born after their father's admission were also free on reaching 21 years of age. On completing an apprenticeship of one of the crafts of a freeman, a man was entitled to admission into the corresponding guild and to the freedom of the city. Admission to freeman could also be obtained by gift, in special cases, or by purchase. In 1833, the cost was £50, but only 6 were bought between 1826-33. Special privileges included the parliamentary vote, special commons rights, and eligibility for municipal office.²⁴

The city of Lincoln, divided into the parishes of the Bail, Close and City, along with the four adjacent parishes of Bracebridge, Branston, Canwick and Waddington, formed a distinct county (County Borough) under the title of 'The City and County of the City of Lincoln'.²⁵ The old corporation (pre-1835) was non-elected and rendered no public account. It was regulated by ancient custom and had little impact on the lives of the citizens, except ceremonially. The parishes had much more importance, for they levied rates for the poor, lighting, watching and paving, and for the upkeep of roads. The unreformed Lincoln council, like many others, was a self-perpetuating body of gentlemen, recruited by co-option for life, who served largely in their own interests. The minimum number of councillors was 45. When a vacancy arose, the mayor and aldermen who had held mayoral office prepared a list of three citizens who had served as sheriff or chamberlain. The three senior gentlemen were usually named. The common councilmen chose from the list, usually the top name. The city and the county of the city were governed by 26 common councillors, a mayor, 12 aldermen, 2 sheriffs, 4 chamberlains, a

steward of the courts of borough trade, a town clerk, 4 coroners, and various other officers.²⁶

Lincoln was cited by Lord John Russell in his 1835 House of Commons speech on the Municipal Reform Bill as a great example of the need for reform. The municipal commissioners had found that the owners and occupiers of $\frac{4}{5}$ of the rated property in Lincoln were not freemen (and therefore not eligible for municipal office), while nearly half the freemen were not ratepayers.

After the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act, Lincoln was divided into two wards, Minster and Bridge. The Bail and Close were brought into the municipal borough. As previously stated, they had not formed part of the old municipal borough but had been part of the county at large. Post-1835 Lincoln was governed by an elected town council — a mayor, 1 recorder, 1 sheriff, 1 town clerk and other officers. There were nine magistrates in 1843 including the mayor, but the number had risen to 15 in 1855.²⁷ For a list of mayors from 1830-72, see Appendix 7, table 10. The franchise was vested in the rate-paying householders. In Lincoln, all houses were rated although a few were excused or unrecoverable. However, some householders were excluded because the landlord paid rates and his name was entered in the rate book instead of the occupier's. According to Hill, it was likely that most of the working class were so excluded from the franchise. The freemen, as such, did not get a municipal vote.²⁸

The council's income came from rents, tolls, fines etc. Its expenses covered the quarter and petty sessions, the jail, markets and fairs, upkeep of the four commons, and to a limited extent, the roads and waterways. Brayford Pool, the inland port, belonged to the city.

Although previously Conservative, the reformers, (Whigs or Radicals), gained every seat in the first elections for the new municipal council, (eighteen in all, six each for

the Lower, Middle and Upper wards). They took all the six aldermanic seats, nominated the mayor, and ejected many of the former officials. Among them was Sir Edward Bromhead, co-founder of the Lincoln Temperance Society, who had been steward of the courts. The new council lost its power to appoint magistrates, but sent a list of eight 'suggested' candidates to the Home Secretary. The Lincoln Radicals protested loudly but ineffectually against the appointment of the 'mischievous sinister tory' Hon. A. L. Melville, another co-founder of the Lincoln Temperance Society.²⁹

The new council of zealous reformers committed some 'foolish acts'. For example, all the corporation plate was sold (the insignia almost suffered the same fate), and much common land was sold cheaply to pay off debts inherited from the previous councils. The wining and dining of the mayor and his officials, along with occasional feasts, was seen as a waste of money and vastly curtailed.³⁰ The weekly dinner held before attendance at divine service at St. Peter-at-Arches, (where special pews were reserved), particularly annoyed the new incumbents. The use of robes was gradually reintroduced around the 1850s, as the councillors (Tory and Whig) reverted somewhat to former habits.

The Conservatives gradually regained municipal influence so that by 1865 there were sixteen Conservative councillors and eight Liberals. The Tory William Cooke Norton had become mayor in 1856, the first Conservative to do so since 1835.

The city of Lincoln had two parliamentary representatives from 1265. They were returned by freemen (resident and non-resident) until 1832. After the Reform Act, however, non-resident freemen lost their votes – about 1,000 in all from Lincoln. The number of voters overall did not decline by this number, however, because of the enfranchisement of the £10 householders (about 450 in all). Electoral corruption (selling of votes and treating at election time) was notorious in Lincoln. It was complained of in the House of Commons by independent Lincoln gentlemen in 1794, but was still continuing

over fifty years later.³¹ For a list of the MPs representing Lincoln from 1830-72, see Appendix 7, table 9.

Schools, charities, friendly and improving societies

Lincoln boasted a variety of schools from 1830-72. The Blue Coat School, or Christ's Hospital, founded by Richard Smith in 1602, was a charitable institution initially set up for the education of twelve poor boys. There were over one hundred pupils from the 'most poor and indigent' in 1843.³² This was Lincoln's most important charity school. The National School, managed by a committee of subscribers, was established in 1813 and provided free education for 200 boys and 100 girls in 1843. There was the Grammar School, run jointly by the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral and the city council. The Grammar School ran a Jersey school, one of the first trade schools in Lincoln. Pupils were taught to spin jersey. There were around twenty academies or private schools, of which six were boarding schools. Wilkinson's School was founded in 1720 through a bequest from John Wilkinson. Its purpose was to educate 16 poor children. Victoria Infants School opened in 1838, and the Church of England Girl's School was established in 1840. The latter had 160 girls in 1843. The Diocesan School, established by the Lincoln Diocesan Board of Education in 1841, was a training school for masters and a commercial school for day pupils and boarders. There were two schools run by the British and Foreign School Society, opened in 1840 and 1841. 200 boys and 180 girls paid 1½d weekly for instruction in reading, and 3d for writing and arithmetic in 1843. Around 1840, a number of Wesleyan Sunday Schools opened as day schools on similar terms to the British and Foreign schools. A Roman Catholic school opened in 1835, providing education to children of all denominations. Of the 130 pupils in 1843, only 20-30 were Roman Catholic. Pupils paid

between 1d and 4d weekly. Other schools appeared in the 1850s, and the School of Art and Design opened in 1863.³³

Lincoln Mechanics' Institution was founded in November 1833.³⁴ There was a pro-temperance leaning at its inception for Lord Yarborough was chief patron, Sir Edward Bromhead president, and Charles Akrill secretary. Lord Yarborough loaned the grounds of his home Thornton Abbey for large temperance festivals,³⁵ and Bromhead, as already mentioned, was a co-founder of the Lincoln Temperance Society. Akrill was a strenuous temperance supporter, treasurer of the Lincoln Temperance Society in 1857 and one of the founders of the Clasketgate Wesleyan Chapel's Band of Hope in 1855.³⁶ However, a brewer (Luke Trotter) and a wine and spirit merchant (J. K. Keyworth) were also on the committee.³⁷ The Institute had 380 members in 1856 and a library of around 5,000 volumes, as well as a museum. As happened elsewhere, the enthusiasm of the mechanics could not be sustained. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* warned in 1840 that the Institute would degenerate into a mere circulating library because lectures had not been arranged for months, even though they were to be free, paid for out of the general subscriptions. The 'apathy and indifference' of the committee was blamed.³⁸ Hill suggests that tiredness after a hard day's work was one likely cause.³⁹ However, another cause pointed out by a local newspaper reporter was communication difficulties. The educated science lecturers were accused of pitching their lectures too high and using too much Latin terminology. One listener thought that 'prejudice' meant a part of a pig.⁴⁰ Perhaps the subjects of some lectures were not attractive enough. The proposed lecture in May 1844 on the 'Cultivation and Management of the Potato' had to be cancelled because of the poor attendance.⁴¹ In 1856 the Institute was said to be 'doing well' except for the lectures.⁴² 'These it seems the Lincoln people will not patronise'. Presumably, the evening classes were found more useful (83 youths and adults attended the first evening class for reading and writing in

October 1857).⁴³ By 1859, the institute had declined. Dr. E. P. Charlesworth, signatory of the 1833 anti-spirits Lincoln Medical Testimony, commented after a visit that he had found;

[...] a display of more confusion, dinginess and dirtiness than I ever remember to have witnessed in one single room in my whole life.⁴⁴

In 1830, there were four subscription libraries in Lincoln, a Ladies and a Gentleman's Book Club, and a City Newsroom. The latter closed in 1843 but was replaced over the ensuing years by other newsrooms. They suffered a similar fate, however.⁴⁵ Lincoln Library was established in 1814, and had 270 members and 6,000 books in 1827.

A number of charitable institutions existed in Lincoln in the period 1830-72. The Penitent Females Home was built in 1847 through 'the praiseworthy efforts of a number of benevolent ladies and other individuals'. Its aim was 'to reclaim abandoned females to a life of industry and virtue'. It contained fifteen 'inmates' in 1849, and moved to newer, larger premises the following year.⁴⁶ There was the County Hospital, erected in 1769. Medical and surgical assistance was made available to the lame and sick poor of the county of Lincoln. The General Dispensary was instituted in 1826. Like the hospital, it was supported by annual subscriptions and charitable bequests. The Lincoln Lunatic Asylum was built in 1820 to accommodate up to fifty patients. The Dorcas Charity was set up by Lincoln ladies to support the poor and needy with clothing. The ladies sold cloth and finished clothing to the poor at half the cost price. The Lying-in Charity for poor, married lying-in women was established in 1805. The Benevolent Society, formed in 1803, was principally supported by the Methodists, but was for the relief of the industrious poor of all denominations, in time of sickness or accident. There was also an Indigent Society and three charities to relieve clergymen, medical men and lawyers or their widows/orphans, and numerous generous benefactions.⁴⁷

In 1816, a Savings Bank was opened in the National School that proved ‘of much service to the humbler classes’ for they deposited small sums.⁴⁸ The Lincoln and Lindsey Banking Company began operations in 1833. (The general manager of this bank, William Tomlinson Page, was pro-temperance for he subscribed to the United Kingdom Alliance from 1858-60). There was also the ‘Lincoln Old Bank’ of Smith, Ellison and Co. Two prisons, the castle and the New Gaol built in 1788, housed the felons, once prosecuted. There were three Societies for the prosecution of Felons in the City, Bail and Close, as well as the New and Old Lincoln Associations. These were Victorian neighbourhood watch associations that indemnified against loss by theft. Their public house meetings were always advertised and reported in the local *Stamford Mercury*.

By 1857, there were over three hundred registered Friendly Societies in Lincolnshire. The Foresters were especially popular, ‘most villages had a branch’ according to Olney. As explained in chapter one, these essentially working men’s institutions were geared to promoting self help, self-discipline and co-operation and generally met in drinking places. However, the Independent Order of Rechabites,⁴⁹ established in Manchester in 1835, was a teetotal Friendly Society. Oak Tent number 114 was established in Lincoln in 1838 (see page 471).⁵⁰ The Sons of Temperance was also a teetotal Friendly Society, and established a Division in Lincoln in 1851 (see page 475).

The Lincoln General Friendly Institution began operations in 1829, and there were five branches of the Oddfellows by 1859. By 1874, the eight lodges of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows had 1,297 members in Lincoln. In 1868, 4,000 Friendly Society members attended service at Lincoln Cathedral.⁵¹

Lincoln Literary Society was established by ‘a number of scientific gentlemen [...] for the purpose of discussing and lecturing upon philosophical subjects’ in 1833. It had

disappeared by January 1834. Other societies ? the Choral Society, the Harmonic Society and the Sons of Vulcan (a glee club) were equally short lived.⁵²

Markets, fairs and festive occasions

Lincoln, a market town, obviously had important weekly markets for the sale of fresh produce from the surrounding countryside. The Butter Market, the Butchery, the Corn Market and Fish Markets were all functioning in the nineteenth century. As previously mentioned however, Lincolnshire was an important horse, cattle and sheep rearing county. Lincoln, therefore, had great animal fairs throughout the year that brought in business to the town and affected its way of life. This was additional to the normal business conducted weekly at the Cattle and Sheep market. *Loder's Lincoln Budget* for 1860 gives precise dates for these fairs.⁵³ For example, 'a great market for fresh beast' was held on the Friday before Stamford fair, and the spring stock market commenced on the Thursday before the 5th Sunday in Lent, continuing fortnightly until the April fair. The April fair was a four-day event, the first two days for horses, the third for sheep, and the fourth for cattle. There was a midsummer pleasure fair, Hugh Fair, on November 28, and two great ram shows in October, among other smaller fairs and markets. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd Fridays after May Day were reserved for the statutes for hiring servants.

The nobility and gentry of Lincolnshire gathered in Lincoln at certain times of the year. The assizes was one such time, although this was often not at very 'convenient' times. Assizes were held twice a year in the nineteenth century, usually at Lent and in midsummer. Autumn was the highlight of the social season, when the landed gentry returned to their estates for a few weeks of hunting, shooting and fishing.

Lincoln Races were very popular with all classes of people in the early part of the century. The first race was held in 1597, although annual racing only commenced in 1680, on Lincoln Heath. In 1773, the venue was changed to the West Common. Races were held for two, then three consecutive days annually, in the week after Doncaster races, and later also in the spring. The Lincolnshire Handicap was the most famous race, first run in 1849. Enormous crowds gathered to watch. However, the ensuing crime and drunkenness was regularly criticised in newspapers and pulpits. In 1831, over 500 thimble-riggers and pickpockets attended, and riots broke out.⁵⁴ Booths selling ale and spirits were set up as early as 11 p.m. Saturday, for Sunday races. Drinking would begin at 8 a.m. and often led to pitched battles and drunken brawls. Thousands attended the races around 1834.⁵⁵ Support for the races waned from the 1950s, culminating in complete cessation from March 1964. Plays, balls and assemblies also afforded opportunities for the upper classes to fraternise. There were two Assembly Rooms (City and County) and a Theatre Royal, the latter erected in 1806 and rebuilt in 1892 after a devastating fire. The Temple Gardens afforded beautiful walks and views, but for a long period only subscribers could enter. Temperance festivals were held in the gardens from 1852.

The biggest social event in Lincoln was the Stuff or Colour Ball, an annual event inaugurated in 1785.⁵⁶ The original intention was to promote Lincoln's emerging wool industry. To this end, all the ladies wore woollen gowns of a stipulated colour. In 1803, the necessity of a woollen gown was modified so that only a certain number of yards of wool had to be worn. The prerequisite was dropped altogether in 1920.⁵⁷

There were few opportunities for the working class to amuse themselves in Lincoln. Drinking places provided important recreational opportunities. The popular races have already been mentioned, but they were annual events. They probably took on the guise of a village feast, with the chance to eat, drink and be merry. The annual village feast provided

entertainment for most lower class people, although it began to decline in importance from around 1800. As many of Lincoln's inhabitants came from surrounding villages, it is probable that they returned to enjoy the festivities. Drinking and 'riotous profanation of the Sabbath' were evident, especially up to mid-century.⁵⁸ Extreme situations could occur. Having received their annual salary, and in festive spirit, 'some farm servants managed to drink through their entire year's wages in the course of May week'.⁵⁹

Statute hiring fairs were another opportunity for wild living, although they had the important function of unofficial employment exchange. The degrading aspect of the men and women standing in the open, being 'inspected' by prospective employers, resulted in the institution of register offices from the 1850s and the subsequent decline of the hiring fairs. May week kept its festive attributes, however, and only after the 1860s, with better policing and generally improved behaviour, did the drunken disorderliness at this time abate substantially.

Bull baiting at Lincoln only died out after 1827 and cockfighting was prevalent in the county until the 1840s.⁶⁰ Fisticuffs was also popular. Plough plays had decreased greatly by the 1870s, but dancing around the maypole declined much earlier. In the 1840s, the national movement against cruel sports and noisy popular demonstrations had its effect on Lincoln and the county, although drunken revelries and fairs were impossible to banish altogether as they formed part of the agricultural labourer's year. The increasing importance of Methodism in the county helped to change customs. Theatrical performances, cricket matches, horseracing etc. were often replaced by lovefeasts, prayer meetings, Sunday School outings and evening entertainment from visiting preachers, some of whom were capable of putting on a real 'show'.⁶¹

With rural immigration into Lincoln from the 1840s, housing was in increasingly short supply. Hill reports that in 1844, 50 houses were being built expressly for the new arrivals, some of whom worked in the surrounding close parishes of the city. Close parishes were under the control of one landlord and therefore susceptible to his dictates. Housing was often kept in short supply to discourage an influx of poor labourers, for their settlement would entail increased burdens on the poor law subscribers of the parish. Thus, houseless labourers often had to find accommodation elsewhere. On the contrary, in open parishes land was owned by a number of people and purposeful curtailment of housing was a much more difficult proposition.⁶²

The coming of the railways to Lincoln in the 1840s brought a great influx of business and workers to the city. There was a great shortage of housing and lodgings for the new labourers, and rents rose. The situation was not helped by the necessity to clear parts of the city to make way for the railway stations and lines. Unfortunately, when the building was over many families suffered for job opportunities vanished. Conditions below hill were decidedly worse than uphill, the 'wretched courts and alleys of St Boltoph and St Peter's-at-Gowt's [parishes]' were just one example.⁶³ Conditions worsened throughout the century, however, compounded by serious problems concerning the drainage of sewage. This problem, as well as dampness caused by bad underground draining, affected the better housing (old and new) too. Two other pressing matters for the corporation involved Lincoln's inadequate burial grounds and problems caused by the filthy waters of the river Witham. Improvement was slow, for the many interest groups made unanimity of purpose almost impossible to achieve.⁶⁴

As was common practice nationwide, some of the poor were sent to the poor house. A large Lincoln Union Workhouse was constructed in 1837, but the New Poor Law was not universally welcomed in Lincolnshire. Gainsborough's new workhouse was raised to the ground in July 1837, for example.⁶⁵ In 1836, A. L. Melville was elected poor law guardian and union chairman in Lincoln, and served until 1870. Son of Scotland's Earl of Leven and Melville, he (ominously) hoped to 'instil Scottish frugality into the Lincolnshire peasantry'.⁶⁶ The number of union inmates rose throughout the century, and was accompanied by an increase in vagrants. The latter were either distressed unemployed who would rather beg than go to the workhouse, or the offspring of tramp parents. Lawlessness and drinking accompanied the increased begging.

Lincoln Gas and Coke Company was established in 1830 at Newlands. It had a capital of £8,000, raised in £25 shares, and a borrowed capital of several thousand pounds. It made a net loss of £330 in its first year despite customers having to pay in advance for their supply, (£2 for six months' supply). Seventy-six street lamps were erected in the city in 1830, 'which greatly improved the quality of life for the inhabitants'.⁶⁷

The 1848 Public Health Act allowed towns to apply for the establishment of local boards of health with powers over sewage disposal, nuisance removal, lodging houses etc. However, public health initiatives were adopted slowly and on a piecemeal basis in Lincolnshire. Lincoln's first full-time Medical Officer was only appointed in 1909, prompted by a terrible typhoid fever epidemic in 1905, which caused 131 deaths.⁶⁸ In Roman times, Lincoln had been supplied by a well linked to a spring at Nettleham. Later, monks extended the water supply using a spring on Monks Leys that was fed through lead piping to the Grey Friary, and then through a conduit outside St. Mary-le-Wigford's Church. This was used until 1906. There were also public conduits at Baggeholme Road, High Bridge and St. Peter's-at-Gowt's. The supply of water via public conduits, which

could be laid to private residences/businesses for a fee, was augmented by the use of private wells, especially in the lower part of the city. The public supply was often insufficient, however, as seen in 1843 when complaints were made by the poor 'unable to get water for their tea' as the conduits were dry by noon.⁶⁹ Again, in May 1844, complaints were made about the deficient water supply, the conduits in the lower city having been dry for some time. Something needed to be done.⁷⁰ The first Lincoln Waterworks Company was established in 1850 by an 1846 Act of Parliament. The company had capital of £18,000, divided into 720 shares of £25 each.⁷¹ A 23-acre reservoir with a capacity of 20,000 gallons was constructed at Priol Brook, Hartsholme. This supplied water to most of the city, supplementing the private wells. In 1871, the City Corporation bought the company for £62,837, with government approval of an improvement scheme.⁷²

Dr. Charles Harrison, part-time medical officer from 1866-1906, repeatedly warned the city council of the poor quality water supplied to the city from the Witham Catchwater Drain. There was a generally favourable opinion of the quality of the water from the public fountains, however; '[they] supply excellent water, even in the driest seasons'.⁷³ Nevertheless, contamination of the water supply was commonplace. This problem was highlighted by a brewer who used so much water from the conduit in St Martin's parish that there was little left for the public. He justified his actions by the impossibility of sinking a new private well on his land. As his property was lower than the high street, he maintained that drainage of effluent into his well would naturally occur.⁷⁴

It was a long and difficult struggle to convince the majority of Lincoln's inhabitants that an efficient underground drainage system was needed. Financial considerations spoke loudest, and fear of a further rate outweighed public health concerns. Two public enquiries were held, in 1870 and 1874, not only to obtain a consensus but also to decide which type of system was best suited to Lincoln's needs, (various systems were operating in different

parts of Britain). The strategy adopted was one of procrastination, until the council was forced to act in 1876. The Public Health Act of 1875 provided the foundation of the whole English sanitary code and compelled the council to begin work on a new system.⁷⁵ The benefits were immediate.

Principal economic activities

An analysis of the occupations of the inhabitants of Lincoln in the years 1835, 1843, 1849, 1855, 1856, 1863 and 1867 reveals the importance of various types of economic activity during the period under consideration (1830-72).⁷⁶ Drink-selling/hospitality (in hotels, inns, public houses or beerhouses) occupied a large number of people. Table 6 on page 428 gives the number of drink sellers in given years. The preponderance of markets and fairs in Lincoln is probably responsible for the relatively large number of eating and drinking places per head of population. Most traders came in from outside areas and needed refreshment/accommodation. Before the advent of the railways, the inns also had an important role as providers of hospitality to travellers, especially those using the coach. The railway era condemned many old inns, some of which had been landmarks in Lincoln for years. The Dolphins Inn (demolished in 1890) was one such place. The inns also provided a venue for business negotiations.⁷⁷

In addition, the drinking places provided a social service. Most of the inns and public houses had clubrooms, which were used by a variety of clubs and societies, including the various, increasingly popular, sports clubs. The Black Horse Inn accommodated the Society of Social Friends in one of its rooms (styled the 'Cabin of Comfort'). Their Rules and Regulations (undated) show a fondness for providing a round of 'pots', for example on birthdays, marriage or promotion (rule 7).⁷⁸ Inquests, official

dinners and political meetings were also held in these rooms. By 1854, of the eighteen public places where the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* could be read, fifteen were inns.⁷⁹ Many public houses catered for a distinct social class, depending on the area in which they were situated. There were a number of working class public houses, for example, especially on the banks of the Witham and in the new housing areas. The Saracen's Head Inn on High Street was used by Colonel Sibthorp as the Tory headquarters at election time. The Whigs/Reformers used the Reindeer Hotel, situated just over the road.⁸⁰ See page 427 for details of the sellers of drink.

Iron founding (after the mid-1840s) occupied numerous people. By 1870, there were about 2,500 employed in the industry.⁸¹ In 1868, the manufacture of steam engines and agricultural implements was 'carried on to a greater extent in this city than any other place in England, and for which several of the firms in Lincoln have become justly celebrated'.⁸² The railways galvanised the iron foundries. Cheaper coal, iron and transport opened up new markets for the agricultural districts, and the building of the railways themselves engendered work for the iron foundries. With Lincoln's reliance on agriculture it was perhaps inevitable that her iron foundries would look to developing agricultural machinery, and this is what happened.

The first iron foundry, known as Stamp-end Iron Works, was established in Lincoln in 1842 by Nathaniel Clayton and Joseph Shuttleworth. Initially dedicated to pipe production, after the arrival of the railway in 1846 it grew into an immense establishment for the manufacture of patent portable and stationary steam engines, agricultural implements and machinery. In 1856, about 700 men and boys were employed, but by 1870 this had risen to 1,200 men who made 1,000 engines and 900 thrashing machines a year. Both Clayton and Shuttleworth were trustees of charities, mayors and magistrates, important in Lincoln's civic life. Clayton was mayor in 1856, and Shuttleworth in 1858.

Clayton was also president of the Lincoln Liberal Association in 1867, Shuttleworth being on the committee.⁸³

In 1845, Charles Duckering established his brass and iron foundry with the help of William Henry Blow. Blow was on the committee of the Lincoln Temperance Society in 1857, and was also a co-founder of the Clasketgate Wesleyan Chapel's Band of Hope in 1855.⁸⁴ In 1852, a factory was founded by Robey and Scott, which was still flourishing eighty years later. 1856 witnessed the establishment of "Foster's", first as a flour mill and then as a foundry making steam engines and thrashing machines. He had 44 men in 1861. The Lindum Plough Works was established in 1858 by John Cooke. He was very successful and employed 70 men at the time of his death in 1887.⁸⁵ Other smaller iron foundries and machine/engineering works functioning in 1856 were those belonging to Simpson and Son, Proctor and Burton, and Michael Penistan. These employed collectively from 500 to 600 people.⁸⁶ In 1870, Rainforth's purchased the business of Clarke Brothers and Odling, and successfully continued to manufacture agricultural implements.

Corn milling, baking, flour dealing and brewing/malting were also important activities and employed 'a large percentage of inhabitants'.⁸⁷ These activities particularly reflect the agricultural nature of the surrounding countryside. In 1843, Joseph George Doughty took over the bone mill of Wriglesworth and Drury. After keen price-cutting competition, he purchased a mill on Waterside-south in 1854-5 in order to make linseed cake (cattle cake). This enjoyed success. In 1857, Joseph Ruston joined the Lincoln millwright business of Burton and Proctor. His energy and foresight ensured an expansion of the business well into the next century. One of Lincoln's oldest corn, cake and flour merchants was the firm of George Walker and Sons (Lincoln), Ltd. The firm began in 1862, and built up a national reputation.⁸⁸

The large number of shopkeepers in Lincoln at this time reflects the trading nature of Lincoln. They depended on both rural and urban customers. The many boot and shoemakers, (in 1843 there were 66), were probably very small scale and did not employ many hands. Their prevalence may have been due to Lincoln being a centre for cattle (markets and slaughter), and so hides were easily obtainable (there were four tanners in 1835 and a hide and skin market was operating in 1863).

Another old-established firm was Jackson's Dye works. This was begun around 1833, and in its early days concentrated on the dyeing of farmers' smocks. In 1837, William Rainforth began his waterproof cover and rope-making business. This developed into a seventy-sloop trading company that plied between Lincoln and Hull. The manufacturing chemists of Messrs Tomlinson and Hayward was established in 1842, with a works at Mint Street. There was also a retail chemist's shop in High Street, later taken over by W. E. Hill.

The sellers of drink

Table 6 on page 428 shows statistics of drink sellers from 1830-1870. After the Beerhouse Act of 1830, which reduced restrictions on the sale of beer, it would be natural to discover that Lincoln beer retailers had increased in number, constituting an important class of drink sellers. This was indeed the case. Robinson has mapped the effect of the 1830 Act in Lincoln, and this is reproduced as Map 4 on page 541.⁸⁹ Most of the new licenced premises were situated in the older parts of the city, in the centre or on the southern approaches on High Street. In the five-year period after the Act was passed (1830-5), 25 beer retailers were trading in Lincoln. This, together with two other extra drinking licences, represented a large percentage increase in the number of drink-selling

establishments (40%). Similarly, after Gladstone's creation of wine and spirit off licences in 1860, and beer off licences in 1863, a rise in the number of licensed drinking establishments can be noted (from 127 to 152, a 20% increase between 1863-7. The rise was probably greater if figures for 1860 could be analysed).

Table 6
Number of Lincoln drink sellers 1830-1870

	Beer retailers	Inns, hotels, taverns, public houses	Total licensed premises
1830		68	68
1835	25	70	95
1849	40	74	114
1855	33	69	102
1863	41	86	127
1867	?	*152	152
1870	+55	117	172

Commercial directories of the relevant years, and the *Stamford Mercury*, October 14 1870.

* inn, hotel & beerhouse keepers together
+ of which 7 were retail outlets

The decrease in the number of drinking establishments from 1849-1855 (-11%) may be accounted for by the economic recession that hit Lincoln hard during this period. Soup kitchens were commonplace, and little money was probably available for drink, leading some drink sellers to close. When Lincoln's economy boomed again from the mid 1850s the number of drink sellers increased, helped enormously by Gladstone's freeing of the wine market, as aforementioned. A stricter magisterial licensing policy cannot be ruled out, however, as a contributing cause of the decline. James Bruce, a Lincoln magistrate, suspended police constable Anderson's license for the Mason's Arms at the 1849 annual Brewster sessions, expressing surprise at the way he had run the premises. Foul language, noise and nuisance were alleged against Anderson.⁹⁰ Bruce was not unbiased, however. See page 439 for his negative opinion of dram shop keepers for example.

The picture of Lincoln's providers of accommodation and drink sellers is not complete without reference to the (few) temperance hotels and coffee houses in the city. The earliest reference to a temperance hotel was found in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, November 24 1837. One had opened on the edge of the river Witham, but little hope was held out for its success 'particularly in its present situation'. In 1843, the commercial directory mentions two temperance and commercial hotels, one belonging to Benjamin Akrill and the other to Griffin Parrish. Parrish did not do well for in 1855 he was using the same premises as a butcher's and confectioner's. Akrill's hotel was also not listed in 1855. William Palmer ran a temperance hotel in Wigford Street in 1863, as did John B. Knight (at St. Benedict's Square). They were still open in 1866, along with George Jennings who had opened on High Street, very near the Mechanics' Institute. In 1867, Jennings' establishment is listed as a 'commercial hotel and eating house', so it is not known whether it kept its temperance characteristics. Palmer and Knight were joined by Matthew Sharman. In 1868, Palmer, Knight and Sharman are not listed as temperance hotel owners, and Jennings' The Old Commercial Hotel is also listed as coffee and dining rooms.⁹¹ There was, therefore, very little specialised accommodation for temperance advocates/visitors.

In 1849, there were two coffee houses open in Lincoln. The Corn-hill Coffee House opened on New Year's Day 1861, 'a unique, spacious and complete establishment', and in 1863 the trade directory notes the Tea and Coffee Rooms of the shoemaker Matthew Sharman. The rooms are at the same address as his subsequent temperance hotel, so he obviously used his catering experience to expand into the hotel business.⁹²

The publicans formed a Protection Society in August 1844 in order to look after 'decayed' publicans, widows and orphans.⁹³ However, another kind of self-protection had been solicited in the same month. Due to the number of prosecutions for serving during divine service, publicans met together in order to protect their interests.⁹⁴ The outcome of

the meeting is not known, but they may well have established a 'protection society'. It is recorded in June 1849 that the Lincoln Licensed Victuallers' Association was broken up and the funds divided. 'The event was celebrated with a dinner'! Ephemerality was characteristic of organisations such as these at this time, a perceived crisis serving to stimulate local action.

In January 1845, a threat again precipitated action. In face of the proposed acts of parliament for the forthcoming session, which were 'calculated to inflict serious injury on them', £16 was raised for the Licensed Victuallers of England and Wales Fund, the 'Protection Society', in order to contest the proposed measures. These were the extension of Sunday closing throughout England and Wales ? or 'the ruin devised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer'.⁹⁵ At a time of intense pressure on the legislature to curb intemperance, the licensed victuallers finally began to unite in order to fight. It was to be a long time before they constituted a strong force, however.

A Licensed Victuallers' Defence Association for Lincoln and Lincolnshire was not established until November 1871. The brewer Dawber senior was treasurer, M. Edwards secretary, and amongst the committee members was the well-known John Rudgard, wine and spirit merchant. Around thirty were present at the meeting in the Saracen's Head, attended by the secretary to the Provincial Licensed Victuallers' Defence League. The object was mutual protection for all victuallers, given the amount of threatened capital at stake (£170,000,000). Improper convictions for alleged breaches of the law were said to be frequent, and a society would:

- 1) protect from frivolous vexations and malicious prosecutions.
- 2) secure the full and free exercise of their business according to the law.
- 3) oppose all unnecessary restrictions.
- 4) watch over the interests of the trade in the Legislature.

5) offer rewards for information on the sale of excisable liquors by unauthorised persons.

6) provide protection in cases of assault etc.

The opposition was the police and the promoters of the Permissive Bill, the latter regarded as a formidable enemy that 'kept the trade in constant hot water'. It was claimed that prohibition was their ultimate aim, not regulation, and so they were to be feared and fought. The annual subscription was fixed at 10s each member. Nothing else is known of their subsequent dealings to 1872, for they held their meetings in private, the press being barred from reporting the proceedings. Following the victuallers' example, the Lincoln beerhouse keepers formed themselves into an association for their mutual protection in December 1871.⁹⁶

The makers of drink

It would be a mistake to think that only strong drink was made in Lincoln. Ginger beer was made from the 1840s, albeit on a very small scale. There were three ginger beer manufacturers in 1843, Thomas Brewster, Levi Ostler and Sarah Barratt. In 1849, Barratt had been replaced by Page Dewing Woodcock. She reappears in the 1851 Directory as an umbrella maker! By 1855, Brewster and Woodcock had diversified; Brewster ran the 'Sloop Inn', (but was not there in 1867). Woodcock was a 'chemist and druggist, tobacconist, teadealer, vendor of patent medicines, and agent to Great Britain Mutual Life Assurance Company'. The 1851 and 1855 *Directories* show no ginger beer manufacturers, but in 1856 two different men were engaged in the business; Thomas Catley and William Ford. In 1863, Kenneth Bayne was the only person listed under 'Ginger-beer and Soda-water maker', Thomas Catley being listed as a game and poultry dealer. There was no

listing for William Ford. Bayne was still in business in 1867.⁹⁷ There was also a soda water manufacturer in 1859 that functioned seasonally, being closed in the winter. 1859 had been a good season.⁹⁸

The importance of cereal growing in Lincolnshire has already been referred to. It is no surprise, therefore, that brewing was an important activity in Lincoln, even before 1830. It is difficult to ascertain reliable data, for agents of non-Lincoln concerns are listed as ‘Brewers and Maltsters’ in the trade directories. *Pigot’s Directory* shows 18 brewers and 17 maltsters in Lincoln for 1822-3 and there were 24 maltsters in 1826.⁹⁹ In 1836, Lincoln had over 40 maltkilns bringing in over £40,000 a year, three-quarters of the product being sent to Manchester.¹⁰⁰ Table 7 shows the numbers of brewers/maltsters between 1830 and 1867.

Table 7

Number of Lincoln brewers/maltsters 1830-1867

	Brewers & Maltsters
1830	26
1835	23
1849	18
1855	18
1863	17
1867	21

Trade Directories for the relevant years

The brewers and maltsters were not as susceptible to Lincoln’s crises as the drink sellers, for their markets were more extended. Their numbers gradually decreased by around a third, however, from 1830-63. This may have been a result of economies of scale, for steam power was being introduced into mills from the 1840s. Also, production may have been moved outside Lincoln if the plants were bought out by a larger, non-Lincoln concern. The state of the market in the 1860s can be ascertained from the difficulties encountered by two breweries. Marshall’s brewery plant and all public houses belonging

thereto were put up for auction in May 1867, but no offers were made. The prospects were still bleak in 1869, when only £300 was bid for the Stamp-end Brewery and other property. The lot was withdrawn.¹⁰¹

The brewing industry was becoming increasingly sophisticated during the latter part of the nineteenth century, for a wide range of patented specialised brewing equipment was available as well as expert advice from brewery consultants, architects and auctioneers. By the end of the century, the industry was highly commercialised and as a result the number of independent brewers and maltsters declined.¹⁰² No brewery remained in Lincoln in 1933.

There was some entrepreneurial imagination. In 1857, a beetroot distillery was set up by a Mr. Key. He produced 6,000 gallons of proof spirit ‘of exceedingly good quality’ in his first year, with the help of new machinery.¹⁰³ The business failed, however, in 1860.

Many of the licensed premises were owned by breweries. The large concern Dawber and Co. owned thirteen public houses in Lincoln in 1903, for example. The phenomenon of tied houses was not peculiar to Lincoln, but was rather a national trend. Not all of Lincoln’s public houses were dependent on breweries (local or otherwise), however. According to the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, the uphill district of Lincoln was ‘very thickly populated with public houses’ in the nineteenth century, and nearly all of them brewed their own beer: ‘It was very good beer too, and very cheap’.¹⁰⁴

Lincoln’s brewers and maltsters were well-known figures in the city, distinguishable by ‘their silk hats and long black coats’. It was a familiar thing in the 1830s to see the hop agents from Kent waiting their turn to see the brewers.¹⁰⁵ There follows details of two of the most successful brewers/maltsters of nineteenth-century Lincoln, William Rudgard and William Dawber.

Rudgard, who was primarily a maltster, took over his father's brewery business, which had been started before the turn of the century. Helped by the railways, his business expanded as he changed his mill to steam power, and then rebuilt it in 1856. According to Hill, by 1861 he was paying £10,000 annually to the Great Northern Railway and other railways solely for the carriage of his goods (destined for the home market and abroad, including New Zealand and South America). He produced mainly pale ale and stout.¹⁰⁶ He served as mayor in 1839, was a donor to the Lincoln Mechanics' Institute, and was a city magistrate and alderman for many years.

The brewer William Dawber established his ale-producing business in Lincoln in 1826.¹⁰⁷ The quality of his ales was praised in 1860, they being 'pure, sustaining and in splendid condition'. Moreover, they were 'reasonably priced'.¹⁰⁸ He traded all over England and exported abroad. Initially there were two breweries, one in Carholme Road and another in Monson Street. One hundred years earlier Dawber and Co. had owned at least 50 hostelries in the city, although this was reduced to 13 by 1903, as previously mentioned. The family's success can be gauged from the will of their successor John Dawber, who died in 1904. The last of the Dawber family line, he left property (which included a brewery and 60 public houses in Lincoln) and £195,792 19s 6d to charity and Lincoln Council.¹⁰⁹ Many charities benefited as a result of this gesture, perpetuating Dawber's name to this day. A revealing comment from the *Stamford Mercury* indicates the attitude of some to the brewers of the city at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The trade which brought him his enormous wealth rather prejudiced him in the eyes of those who set the welfare of their fellows before their eyes.¹¹⁰

The voting pattern of the drink makers and sellers reveals a bias towards the Whigs/Liberals from 1830-72.¹¹¹ As an evaluation of all the parliamentary election results in this period is not relevant here, only a few will be analysed.

Of the 28 brewers/maltsters and wine and spirits merchants whose votes are known for the 1832 general election, 18 voted for the reformers Heneage and Bulwer-Lytton, 1 plumped for Bulwer-Lytton, 5 plumped for the Tory Sibthorp and 2 voted for Sibthorp and Heneage.¹¹² 878 people polled in the election, Heneage obtaining 543 votes, Bulwer-Lytton 490 and Colonel Sibthorp 402. The first two were therefore returned to parliament.¹¹³ Bulwer-Lytton's major supporter in Lincoln was the wine and spirit merchant John Rudgard. Rudgard's occupation did not deter Bulwer-Lytton from professing pro-temperance sentiments in a letter to Theodore Compton in 1845. He wrote: 'I agree in the main in the principles of the Temperance Society, and heartily wish it success, as having already done much good, and being calculated to do much more'.¹¹⁴

The voting of the brewers, maltsters and wine/spirit merchants in 1832 shows that they were in step with their fellow citizens when favouring Reformers. The election took place soon after the passing of the 1832 Reform Act, when Whigs were enjoying considerable popularity nationwide.

In the 1835 general election, again most of the brewers/maltsters and wine/spirits merchants voted for the reformers ? Bulwer-Lytton and Capt. Phipps. William Dawber and John Rudgard both voted for the two reform candidates. Sibthorp and Bulwer-Lytton were elected, the former regaining his seat largely due to his personal popularity with the voters. The brewer Charles Winn changed his vote from Sibthorp (in 1832) to the reformers in 1835.¹¹⁵

John Rudgard and Charles Seely had broken up a business partnership acrimoniously in 1841, and the former was determined to prevent Seely from representing Lincoln at the 1847 general election. The candidates were Sibthorp, Collett, Lytton and Seely.¹¹⁶ After a vindictive election campaign marked by a split among the Lincoln Liberals and by excessive treating and consequent drunkenness, Sibthorp was elected with

Seely. The results were: Sibthorp 659, Seely 518, Bulwer-Lytton 436, Collett 278 votes. It was claimed that Bulwer-Lytton, who had formerly maligned Sibthorp and the Tories, had betrayed his Liberal principles and aligned with Sibthorp in order to defeat the rival Radical candidate Seely.¹¹⁷ Of the 31 brewers/maltsters, wine & spirits merchants whose votes are known for the 1847 election, 9 voted for the Tory duo Sibthorp and Collett and 9 for the Tory/Whig Sibthorp and Bulwer-Lytton. Again, Sibthorp's local popularity is evident here, party loyalties not being the overriding determinant of voting behaviour. This is even more evident in the case of William Fieldson and William Skill, who voted for both Tory Sibthorp and Radical Seely. The remaining votes were plumpers; 2 for Sibthorp, 3 for Bulwer-Lytton and 4 for Seely. In 1848, Seely was unseated after charges of election bribery, instigated by Rudgard and others, were proved. In the subsequent by-election, votes were evenly cast between Humphrey and the Liberal Hobhouse.¹¹⁸ The former received 8 votes, the latter 7 from the brewers/maltsters and wine and spirits merchants.¹¹⁹

The leading brewers/maltsters, wine and spirits merchants were benefactors of Lincoln. Dawber's legacy to charity has already been mentioned. John Rudgard was also a great benefactor of the poor and an understanding employer. He 'set an example' in October 1859 by closing his works at 4 p.m. on Saturdays so his workers could enjoy some relaxation. This was at a time when the Early Closing Movement was actively soliciting such action from employers.¹²⁰ The brewers/maltsters took on responsibilities in the municipal life of the city, their names appearing frequently on the lists of benefactors or office-holders of the different charities and institutions of Lincoln. W. Northouse seconded the resolution for establishing the Mechanics' Institute and became its first secretary. A number of brewers appear on the Institute's subscription lists.¹²¹ John Keyworth and Luke Trotter were also on the committee. William Curtis Bell, William Dawber, W. Northouse and William Rudgard were all Lighting and Paving Act commissioners.

For the first half of the nineteenth century, Lincoln and Lincolnshire were policed by a relatively small number of amateurs. Parish constables were appointed annually and were unpaid. Not surprisingly, the job was not a popular one. Constables had to report to the magistrates at each Quarter Sessions, had no leave (until after 1861), had long beats to walk, and when not on duty had to be at home in case of trouble. The right calibre of person for the job was not always easy to find, and it is perhaps not surprising that 'justice' was sometimes metered out summarily, as when two drunks from a 'swarm' of vagrants on Lincoln streets got into trouble. One of them knocked down the policeman, who apprehended him and 'bruised him rather severely'.¹²² The policeman's job was not made easier when the public sympathised with the offender, as when two drunken men who were swearing and misbehaving were restrained with difficulty by the constable on duty and one passer-by. The crowd 'shouted and jeered' at the apprehension, but the two then escaped and later beat up the policeman to within an inch of his life.¹²³

Peel's Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 had had no effect outside London, and the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act obliging all incorporated boroughs to set up police forces had been ignored in rural Lincolnshire. The County Police Acts of 1839 and 1840, intended to stimulate rural areas to form police forces by allowing county Quarter Sessions to set up professional county police forces, were not mandatory. Indeed, only 22 of the 52 English and Welsh counties had established a countywide force by 1853. The Lincolnshire county police was only established in 1857, under the control of the magistrates. This followed the County and Borough Police Act (1856), which made it compulsory for all counties and boroughs to establish police forces. There were initially three forces in Lincolnshire all headed by the same chief constable.¹²⁴

In 1835, the reformed city council took control of Lincoln's police from the Lighting and Paving Commission, (which had been set up under a local act of 1828). The ordinary policemen had formerly received around 19s per week. The new council, ever anxious to cut costs, decided to reduce the force and pay 14s a week plus an annual suit of clothes. The sergeant would receive 16s and the inspector 28s. This saved £20 annually. A proposal in 1836 to increase the force from 13 to 16 was not adopted, it being argued that the low level of crime in the city did not warrant it. (It was hinted that the country gentlemen had only agreed to a new county police because they thought they might put an end to poaching.)¹²⁵ In 1856, Lincoln's police force was still small, comprising a police superintendent and commons' warden, police inspector, police sergeant, nine police constables, and three supernumeraries.¹²⁶

A variety of alcohol-related crimes existed on the statute books. Those related to drunkenness are perhaps the first to come to mind. Surprisingly few people were arrested in nineteenth-century Lincoln for being 'drunk and disorderly', although the tendency was for more arrests as the century progressed and drunken disturbances increased.¹²⁷ It appears that the hard-pressed constables preferred to let offenders find their way home, as long as no other crime was being committed.¹²⁸ A marked increase in prosecutions for minor public order offences such as brawls and drunkenness was characteristic after the introduction of new police forces, but in Lincoln protests concerning lax policing were still being voiced in the 1860s.¹²⁹ In 1865, the *Stamford Mercury* complained that drunken persons were not locked up or proceeded against by the police;

[...] unless [they] give them special reasons for so doing, either by causing a disturbance or being incapably drunk, or when their being at large is either dangerous to themselves or to others.¹³⁰

This attitude was not uniform, for in nearby Boston it was claimed that detention and a fine could be expected if one were found drunk on the street, even though quiet and 'quite capable'.

According to the parliamentary returns, in 1841, 140 drunk and disorderly people were arrested in Lincoln (22 of whom were female). In 1851, the number remained constant at 137 (29 were female).¹³¹ If the newspapers are to be believed, the number of drunkards on the streets was increasing during this decade, so the police seem to have turned a blind eye unless prodded into action.

Mr Bruce [Lincoln magistrate] remarked that no respectable person could pass along Saltergate without witnessing disgusting scenes. It was strange the police did not keep a stricter look out. He thought dram shops were disgraceful to persons who kept them.¹³²

In 1863, statistics show there were only 67 prosecutions for drunkenness and 127 against licensed premises.¹³³ Were Lincoln citizens better behaved? It seems unlikely, especially as the number of licensed premises and the population was increasing. In 1870 however, with an increased police force totalling 25 men, and a changed attitude to drunkenness and drink-related crime, the panorama of convictions is somewhat different. Serious crime was still unusual ? only 27 defendants being committed for trial. The major offence summarily dealt with by magistrates was drunkenness or transgression of the bye-laws. 138 were charged with drunkenness, (up 56 on 1869), 84 being convicted and 54 discharged. (Assaults, on the other hand, decreased from 349 in 1869 to 287). 13 landlords were proceeded against. Parry states that the raised working-class political profile after 1867 brought a swift upswing in prosecutions for drunkenness at local and then national level. They rose by 25% in the last half of the 1860s. This could be one explanation for Lincoln's increase, for the Radical Seely and Liberal Palmer were elected for Lincoln in 1868.¹³⁴

If drunkenness led to another offence, for example use of obscene language or fighting, then the defendant answered those charges. Hannah Goon, a prostitute of Castle Dykings, Lincoln, was arrested by Chief Constable James Handley on March 13 1859 and

charged with being drunk and disorderly and making use of obscene language. She was committed for one month and a £4 fine was levied. The stiff penalty may well have reflected Hannah's 'occupation' rather than the nature of the offence. Publicans could also be fined for allowing drunk and disorderliness on their premises, as happened to John Artliff of the White Horse Pub. He was fined 5s with 10s costs on January 13 1863. Drunk driving and being drunk on a highway were also against the law.

Another class of offences related to alcohol concerned the opening hours of the licensed premises, and the misuse of those premises. The Licensing Acts attempted to restrain alcohol excesses, but it was patently impossible to enforce them rigorously when the police force was understaffed. In Lincolnshire as a whole, the rural police had a hard time, and for a publican to be caught there was usually 'a combination of carelessness and bad luck, for the movements of the local constable were generally well known'.¹³⁵ The paucity of law enforcers in Lincoln necessarily influenced the number of opening after hours cases brought before the magistrates. Lincoln magistrates seem not to have been mindful of the difficulties caused by low staff levels, at least in the 1830s. They accused the police of 'a want of attention [...] to the state of the beer houses' in May 1834. Three convictions for selling out of hours resulted from complaints of disorder from the magistrates themselves. They very much resented the accusations thereafter levied against them of entrapment and being 'unnecessarily officious'.¹³⁶

There were only five successfully prosecuted cases of opening out of hours in a randomly selected sample year of 1859. The police were sensitive to swings in public opinion, however, and especially to instructions from the magistrates. When a clamour was being made in Lincoln about Sunday drinking around 1861, the police probably felt obliged to act. In March, police raids were carried out on public houses in order to ascertain compliance with the Sunday closing rules. Three offenders were caught, all of

whom were gravely admonished with solemn warnings by the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* as to ignoring the ‘wise and virtuous clauses’ of the 1854 Wilson-Pattern Act.¹³⁷ The act had been difficult to implement. A small number of publicans had always stayed open for the ‘large body of customers’ wishing to drink during the forbidden hours. Drinkers even reimbursed the publican for his fines so as not to lose their drinking place. Magistrates were warned by the press to enforce the law in order to protect public morality and the fair trader who obeyed it. The difficulties encountered by the police in catching offenders were well known, but heavier fines were recommended to dissuade the law-breakers.¹³⁸ By 1866, the police had to admit in the Annual Report on Inns presented to the magistrates, that despite their efforts Sunday trading had been going on in several houses during the year, it having proved ‘very difficult’ to end it.¹³⁹ Cases were sometimes dismissed, as happened twice with Charles Wilkinson for alleged opening hours offences on November 30 1858 and April 19 1859.

Landlords had to watch more than the liquor consumption of their customers and their opening hours, however. Joseph Little was fined 40s with 12s costs for allowing ‘persons of notoriously bad character and prostitutes to assemble and meet together at his house *viz* the Newark Arms beerhouse, on June 13 1863’. Charges were also brought for allowing gambling on licensed premises. In all, seventeen cases for opening hours’ offences were brought before the magistrates in 1863. Eleven defendants were fined and six were dismissed.¹⁴⁰ This was an increase on 1859, but still a small number of convictions given the number of drink-selling establishments in the city. There were 75 fully licensed public houses, plus 35 beerhouses in 1857.¹⁴¹

The magistracy

Table 8

Names and professions of the 1855 Lincoln magistrates

William C. Norton	Wine & spirit merchant; linseed and rape cake dealer
James Bruce	Gentleman
T. J. N. Brogden (ex-	Auctioneer; valuer; printer; news agent
Thomas Nettleship	Chemist and druggist
Richard S. Harvey*	Surgeon
William Rudgard	Maltster
Thomas Keyworth	Gentleman
John Hayward	Proctor and notary
James Snow*	Surgeon
Richard Whitton	Wine and spirit merchant
H. W. Wroot	Wholesale druggist
Charles Ward	Builder, timber merchant and dealer in building materials
Robert G. Hill	Surgeon
Thomas Wetherell	Tanner
Charles Seely	Mill and coal mine owner; MP for Lincoln

Kelly's Post Office Directory, 1855

*Signatories of the 1833 anti-spirits Lincoln Medical Testimony

In 1849, eleven magistrates sat on the Lincoln bench. Sessions were held daily at 10 a.m. except Sundays. In 1855, the number had increased to fifteen, sessions continuing to be held six days a week. In 1863, there were again only 13 magistrates, including the business entrepreneurs Clayton and Shuttleworth.¹⁴² The professions of the fifteen 1855 magistrates are given in table 8 above.

Between 1834 and 1840, Lincoln licensing magistrates annually stipulated the beerhouse opening hours as being from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. (The 1830 Beerhouse Act had set the weekday parameters at 4 a.m. ? 10 p.m. The 1834 Act changed them to 5 a.m. ? 11 p.m.). On Christmas Day, Good Friday and public feasts the hours were from 1 p.m. to 9 p.m., with closure between 3 ? 5 p.m. The shorter hours chosen by the licensing magistrates reflects a cautious attitude to alcohol sales in the city.¹⁴³ In 1872, magistrates again had the power to lengthen or shorten the opening times stated in Bruce's Licensing

Act. Lincoln magistrates decided to adopt the times recommended by the act, 6 a.m. opening and 11 p.m. closing.¹⁴⁴

Magistrates met annually in September at the General Annual Licensing Meeting (later known as the Brewster Session) in order to consider renewals, transfers and new applications of liquor licences. Important legal precedence had been established in 1832 by Darlington magistrates, who refused to renew three dram shop licences although there was no conviction against the holders.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, alehouse licences were routinely renewed in Lincoln unless the holder had been convicted for violating the terms of his licence. From 1869, magistrates had to grant certificates to all the beer houses, unless cause was shown to the contrary. Transgressors' licences were usually not renewed the following year. From 1860, wine licences were granted, leading to low-priced wine at several Lincoln establishments licensed under Gladstone's new act.¹⁴⁶ Records show that the number of certificates granted to alehouse keepers in the city of Lincoln from 1833 – 1857 remained fairly constant, averaging around 37. New licences were occasionally applied for, but not always granted. For example, in 1844 eight new licences were granted and two refused.¹⁴⁷ Only one new beer and one new wine licence were granted at the 1872 Brewster Session, one beer house licence being withheld after many complaints.

In order to apply for a new licence, a month's notice of intention was required, in writing. A copy of the letter detailing the position of the property and other details was sent to the overseer of the poor and the constable of the parish concerned. A copy was fixed on the doors of the property and of the parish church for three consecutive Sundays, between 10 ? 11 a.m. John Williamson, a beer shop owner in the Newport area, had no luck in September 1842 when his application for a new spirit licence was refused. The grounds were that there was no necessity to increase the number of beer shops in that area, and that he kept a disorderly house. He had been opposed by the landlady of the Ivy Tavern, only

four or five doors from the proposed new business. Williamson's protest, 'But I want a living as well as you', was to no avail and is further proof that the magistrates attempted to keep a reasonably tight control over the sale of liquor. No new licences were granted at this 1842 session, nor were any suspended. A caution was given as to the late hours of opening on Saturday nights, however. In October 1842 the magistrates again showed their willingness to uphold the drinking laws by giving 'strict charge to the police to lay informations [*sic*] against all victuallers transgressing [opening illegally on Sundays]'. This is yet another indication that the police were not as zealous as they might have been.¹⁴⁸

At the Licensing Session of 1848, the publicans were warned of the new law that had come into effect on the previous August 4, regulating closing times and providing for *bone fide* travellers. The effect of the law was described graphically in the *Stamford Mercury* of September 8.

To the morning toppers the regulation proved a sad infliction; in small knots they wandered with woeful countenances from one house to another in quest of the forbidden 'pot', peeping in at the windows, and going round to the back doors; but all in vain. All the publicans stood in fear of the law.

This says as much about the lack of alternative recreation on Sundays as it does about the drinking habits of certain elements of Lincoln's population.

From 1857, the Lincoln Temperance Society took the offensive and challenged attempts to take out new liquor licences. The United Kingdom Alliance encouraged the presentation of memorials to the licensing magistrates, and this was becoming common practice nationwide. A thousand addresses from the committee were distributed containing an appeal for everyone to discountenance the drinking system and calling on all who wished to escape its horrors to assist in promoting the sobriety of the people. Drinking at festive occasions and drinking toasts were especially condemned. It was stated that Lincoln had 75 licensed victualling houses, and 4 new applications were to be made at the annual

licensing session. There were also 35 beer shops. The reception afforded the address is not known, but as already noted, the Lincoln magistrates were cautious when considering new licences, and so the Lincoln teetotallers perhaps had an easier containment task than their counterparts in other, larger conurbations. Public meetings with a view to limiting the issue of licences were held in Bolton, North shields and Sunderland in 1857, for example. In the latter city, a memorial with 6,000 signatures was presented to magistrates.¹⁴⁹

Lincoln churches and clergy

Places of worship

Before the Reformation, there were fifty-two churches in Lincoln, exclusive of the Cathedral. Over time, many churches became dilapidated and disappeared so that by 1826 there were only twelve, described as having ‘little architectural beauty’. In the same year, the Dissenters were represented in a variety of forms, having seven places of worship. There were Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists (Particular and General), Quakers, Independents and Unitarians. The Roman Catholics also had a place of worship.¹⁵⁰

The first Methodists in Lincoln were four women, who met in a lumber room from 1787. A chapel was subsequently built off Waterside-south, but this was replaced by a larger one in 1815 in Bank Street. A larger chapel was built in 1836 in Clasketgate. Wesleyan Methodism was popular in Lincoln, necessitating the provision of ampler accommodation as the century progressed.¹⁵¹

The Independents first made their mark in Lincoln in 1820, with the building of a chapel in High Street. Newland Chapel was opened in 1840. There was a Particular Baptist Chapel in Mint Lane (repaired and improved in 1855), and a General Baptist Chapel at the west end of St. Benedict’s Church. A small brick building, the Friends’ Meeting House,

erected in 1685, stood in Park Lane, Newland.¹⁵² The Roman Catholic Chapel in New Street was built in 1799.

By 1856, the Dissenters/Roman Catholics and the members of the established church had equal numbers of places in which to worship ? thirteen. The latter also had the cathedral, however. On the other hand, the tendency was for expanding dissenting congregations until the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁵³

Clergy

In the period under consideration, 1830-72, the overwhelming majority of support for temperance in Lincoln came from the Dissenters. Among these, the most active denominational supporters were the Independent Methodists (Independents). The Rev. Samuel Brodible Bergne was the Independent minister between 1831-48, firstly at the High Street chapel until 1840, and then at the newly erected Newland chapel, until his departure for London in 1847.¹⁵⁴ He often held outdoor religious meetings, which were not appreciated by the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, (although the paper remained respectful towards him).¹⁵⁵ He was responsible for the erection of the new chapel in 1840 and for the great advancement of 'the cause' in Lincoln. Seventy-six new members were admitted to the church under his auspices between 1840-42, there being a total of 160 members in 1860. He was instrumental in the formation of the first Lincoln Temperance Society at the Guildhall, in September 1833. He led the teetotal festival procession in 1841 (see page 465), this being particularly important for he was one of the few ministers present. However, he suffered ill health in 1844, having to go to the continent to repose, and again from 1847-8. Ill health may well have curtailed his temperance activity.¹⁵⁶

Support for the temperance cause from the Independents was continued through the offices of the energetic Rev. Enos R. Metcalfe, the Independent minister at High Street Chapel, St Peter's at Gowts from 1844.¹⁵⁷ This chapel had 82 members in 1860 but despite its smallness the congregation had managed to purchase the chapel in 1844 for £500, and add school rooms in 1857 at a cost of £350. Metcalfe spoke at the working men's temperance festival in April 1851 and at the Lincoln Temperance gala in 1852.¹⁵⁸ He was obviously an Alliance supporter, for he chaired the lecture given by Jabez Burns on behalf of the Alliance; 'The Characters, Operation and Results of the Maine Liquor Law', Newark, June 20 1855.

Bergne's successor, the Rev. A. Creak (Independent minister at Newland Chapel from 1848-50), followed in the temperance tradition. Little is known of his input except that he presided at Edwin Paxton Hood's second Lincoln lecture in May 1849, and continued to let the church's premises be used for temperance purposes.¹⁵⁹ Metcalfe's predecessor, Rev. E. Brown, who only ministered in Lincoln from mid-1842-1844, signed the pledge after hearing the energetic agent of the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, John Addleshaw. Addleshaw lectured on teetotalism in the temperance rooms on January 26 1843.¹⁶⁰

The Lincoln Wesleyan Methodists seem to have afforded mixed support for temperance/total abstinence. Some sympathy with the movement was shown from the outset. The first weekly teetotal meetings were being held in the Wesleyan schoolroom in Lincoln from October 1837. The Wesleyans continued to provide venues, especially from the 1850s, in support of the Alliance objectives. For example, a Maine Law meeting was held on December 21 1858 at the Methodist School. It was probably easier for them to support temperance through the Alliance, being a broad-based organisation, than it was to back earlier, radical teetotalers, for brewers, inn-keepers and such like were often

members of the Wesleyan church. N. Clement, a Wesleyan minister from Lincoln, gave a favourable response to the 1857 Alliance Ministerial Address.¹⁶¹

The degree of support afforded the temperance advocates depended on the strength of support from ordinary local Wesleyan individuals. Support in Lincoln may well have been through the influence of Thomas Barker, (see page 466), although this was curtailed in 1844 when Barker left after a dispute concerning alcoholic communion wine. He was severely disciplined for refusing to take fermented wine at communion, and left for Manchester where he was on hand at the inception of the Alliance nine years later. According to Ambler, early in 1843 Lincoln Circuit Ministers had expelled a local preacher who had been accepted for the full time ministry from the circuit plan, for his refusal of alcoholic communion wine.¹⁶² The dispute does not mean that all the Lincoln Wesleyans were necessarily against total abstinence at that time, for the communion wine issue divided many teetotallers. However, it is very possible that some Wesleyans were not teetotal supporters. (As late as 1870, a Grantham minister declined to give out a notice about a teetotal lecture).¹⁶³ The Wesleyan Methodists did not find the prerequisite consensus and give official support to the temperance movement until the 1870s, as mentioned in chapter three.

The Primitive Methodists, so supportive of temperance and teetotalism nationally, are little referred to in connection with temperance in Lincoln. Relying as they did on circuit preachers until the 1840s, strong support obviously depended on the individuals in each area. Their initially loose hierarchical organisation makes it difficult to trace individual support. However, W. Carthy, Primitive Methodist minister in 1857, gave a favourable response to the Alliance Ministerial Address in that year. No doubt, many others of the denomination were supportive too.

The general lack of public ministerial support for temperance in Lincolnshire is evident from the sparse attendance at the April 1848 Temperance Reformation Conference of Ministers, held in Manchester (see chapter 3). Of the 185 ministers present, only three were from Lincolnshire.¹⁶⁴ There was a lack of clerical support for temperance on the part of the Church of England too, (see page 466 for comments concerning the lack of clerical support at the teetotal festival in 1841). It is fair to assume that this attitude was condoned from the top down i.e. from the bishops of Lincoln. John Kaye was Bishop of Lincoln from 1827-53, followed by John Jackson from 1853-69 and Christopher Wordsworth 1869-1885. Of these, Wordsworth provides the best insight into his position regarding temperance societies, through his sermon preached in Lincoln Cathedral in 1873. This was later published as *On Temperance Societies* and is a damning criticism of the radical element of the temperance movement whilst offering support for the moderate wing. In the sermon, he justified his belief that the teetotal pledge should not be taken by any Christian, and outlined what the Christian church should do to obliterate intemperance.

Bishop Wordsworth took the words of St. Paul in 1 Tim. iv: 4-5 as a basis for his argument; 'Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the Word of God, and Prayer'. This, and other commands from St. Paul such as 'Wine maketh glad the heart of man' (Ps. civ: 15), were interpreted as meaning that all God's gifts were good and could be partaken of, including wine. Man was free to abstain from meats and drinks if he were able to do so, however, and if it was conducive to his own spiritual and temporal welfare, or to the cause of Christian charity; 'and if he does it without any pretension to superior holiness for doing so, and without disparagement of others who do not abstain from them'.¹⁶⁵ According to St. Paul, man should maintain his Christian liberty, but should also practice Christian charity and curtail that liberty for his own sake and that of others, if necessary.

According to Wordsworth, when St. Paul said he would abstain from flesh and wine if it made a brother offend (Rom. xiv: 20 - 21) he was putting an hypothesis only, and not a command. If not in the presence of a weak brother then Paul would partake of meat and drink. Here the bishop was addressing one of the principal biblical supports used by the teetotallers for total abstention. He affirmed categorically that 'St. Paul's saying has been wrongly applied by many to the solution of the question of total abstinence from wine, and other drinks'. Wordsworth went on to state that no one could make another become a drunkard by a temperate use of wine; temperance would not put a stumbling block in his way. This was flatly against teetotal teaching, for total abstainers believed a bad example was set by moderate drinking.

When considering the total abstinence pledge, the Bishop stated that although temperance was a Christian duty and intemperance a deadly sin, there were other deadly sins, one of which was lying. He believed that by taking the pledge many were taking the path to falsehood for they were unable to keep it. The high numbers of pledge-breakers was cited, and the fact that many took the pledge rashly, without due consideration of its implications. Even children were encouraged to take it, although they could not appreciate the danger.

It was said that the Rechabites of the Bible took no vow of abstinence, but simply obeyed their father's command. The father was 'not praised for ordering his children to abstain from wine'.¹⁶⁶ Bishop Wordsworth maintained that man should not invent a new vow, such as the total abstinence pledge, for only God could do that. He declared emphatically;

On the whole then, while I fully acknowledge the excellent intentions of many persons who take the total abstinence pledge, and administer it to others, I feel it a bounden duty to declare my deliberate opinion that it is at variance with Holy Scripture, and will, in the end, be found to be unfavourable to morality; and I should not feel myself justified in becoming

a Member of a Society which lends its countenance to the imposition of the total abstinence pledge.¹⁶⁷

For the bishop, it was one's Christian duty to provide restraints and remedies for intemperance, however. Some measures that should be undertaken were; helping to improve the Licensing Acts, especially regarding sales on the Sabbath, (he presided over a CASSILS meeting held in Lincoln in March 1870, see page 483); checking adulteration; providing better housing and 'innocent' recreations for the poor; urging employers not to pay wages partly in drink, on Saturdays or in public houses; and exhorting benefit clubs not to meet in public houses. In addition, he maintained that total abstinence without the pledge could be an excellent example to others.

Above all, Bishop Wordsworth stated that God's help should be called for to fight intemperance. He ended with a plea that the Church of God not be fooled by popular opinions, 'or by the specious results of such systems, lest she be found like an unwise woman, who removes her house from the Rock and builds it upon the Sand'.¹⁶⁸ When the leadership of the established church held such strong anti-teetotal opinions, it is not surprising that little support was forthcoming from the Lincoln clergy up to the end of this bishop's term of office in 1885.

The Wesleyan minister Marshall Randles, who left Lincoln in 1869, wrote a reply to Bishop Wordsworth's sermon in 1873.¹⁶⁹ The arguments in his 23-page pamphlet were not innovative, as the bishop's objections had not been. Randle's most forceful argument was directed against Bishop Wordsworth's vigorous denunciation of the total abstinence pledge. Having been a co-founder of the Clasketgate Wesleyan Chapel Band of Hope, which offered children the option of taking the pledge, and being a pledged abstainer himself, Randles was understandably vehement in his counter-arguments. Again, he was not original. He underlined that the pledge was voluntary and not an oath or religious vow, that it helped men to keep their promise to abstain and was a good example to others.

Although often broken, this did not preclude taking the pledge for some good was done until then. Indeed, if its breaking were inevitable, and lying the result, then pledges of every nature should be disallowed for they were also likely to be broken (for example the liar should not promise to speak the truth). He concluded by lamenting that so eminent a dignitary as the Bishop of Lincoln should profess such erroneous notions concerning total abstinence, notions which carried weight in the diocese and may well have influenced parishioners negatively.

The Temperance movement in Lincoln

A temperance 'presence' is recorded in Lincoln from 1833. Between 1833-1872, there were periods of more or less frenzied activity that coincided with the national agitation. Lincoln's temperance history followed the national progression from moderation to teetotalism, legislative prohibition, concentrating finally on local option. Lecturers of national reputation as well as lesser known free-lancers and agents of national temperance organisations spoke in Lincoln. Coffee shops, temperance rooms, temperance hotels and a temperance hall were all constructed, although they were generally short-lived.

In the almost complete absence of official society records, (only the 1857 Temperance Society Annual Report has been found), recourse for information on temperance activity in Lincoln has been made to local newspaper reports, namely the Liberal *Stamford Mercury* and the Conservative *Lincolnshire Chronicle*. Although information concerning membership numbers and characteristics is incomplete, for these papers necessarily recorded significant events only (visiting lecturers, rallies etc.), enough has been gleaned to give a solid account of temperance in Lincoln.

Lincoln Temperance Society, 1833

The first temperance society in Lincolnshire was established in Bassingham on January 1 1833 by the Rev D. S. Wayland.¹⁷⁰ The second society in the county was established in Lincoln in September 1833, with Rev. Wayland's help. Lincoln's promising, early foothold on the temperance ladder was soon to be abandoned, however, and the city was never to show the heightened fervour and frenzied activity characteristic of larger cities and even much smaller Lincolnshire towns. The society was short-lived, suspending

its operations in November 1834, but it nevertheless marked the beginning of a long history of temperance agitation in the city.¹⁷¹

The *Stamford Mercury* gave notice on July 12 1833 that moves had been made to establish a temperance society;

[...] by several intelligent well-wishers to the improvement of the poor and of society in general in this city and the neighbourhood ? on the American plan.

The report included a plea for the temperance question to be given just consideration, as it had been backed nationally by important names that ‘alone are enough to rescue from contempt an institution to which they belong’. Its sympathy for the cause is obvious from its description of temperance as ‘one of the most important moral movements of our time’. Reference to the ‘American plan’ is interesting, for the American pledge at that time was more comprehensive than that of the more moderate British temperance societies. It generally included a prohibition on offering intoxicating liquor to others, for example when entertaining at home. A subsequent meeting to establish rules (on August 9) was later reported, along with news of the debate on the role of spirits in cooking ? ‘This for some time was a puzzler’. It was resolved to allow brandy in puddings ‘and such like’ for this was considered to be eating and not drinking of spirits!¹⁷² The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* was also favourable to the idea of ‘one of these valuable [Temperance] societies’ in Lincoln, and stated the rules adopted:

- 1) No drinking of spirits, except for medicinal purposes.
- 2) No giving of spirits, except for medicinal purposes.
- 3) No intoxication ‘with any thing’.¹⁷³

An important public meeting chaired by the Hon. A. L. Melville was held in Lincoln on September 11 1833 and attended by gentlemen ‘of the first rank of respectability’. Its objective was to establish a temperance society. After a speech by

Thomas Hartley, travelling agent of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, and anti-spirits speeches from others, Sir Edward French Bromhead moved a resolution for the formation of a Lincoln auxiliary to the B.F.T.S.¹⁷⁴ The B.F.T.S. relied largely on clergymen for its local contacts, and this was reflected in Lincoln. According to Hill, George Quilter (Church of England rector at Canwick) and the Rev. Samuel Bergne (Independent Methodist at the High Street chapel, Lincoln) launched the society with Bromhead's aid.¹⁷⁵ The Revs. John Pridham from Orby and D. S. Wayland of Bassingham (Church of England vicars), Rev. James Sanders of Silk Willoughby (probably Church of England), 'and others' had seconded Bromhead's motion.¹⁷⁶ The London-based, moderationist, anti-spirits B.F.T.S. had been established in 1831 (see chapter 2.3) and had gained ninety auxiliaries by 1833, mainly in the large towns and cities.¹⁷⁷ Bromhead and Wayland were both subscribers to the B.F.T.S. at least up to 1841 (£1 and 10s respectively in 1841). Its royal/aristocratic patronage may well have attracted Bromhead, although it was obviously advantageous for the Lincoln Temperance Society to be affiliated to a national organisation. Melville was elected president.¹⁷⁸

In Lincoln, popular interest in the temperance cause was high in 1833, for 'several hundreds' had to be sent away from the September meeting at the Guildhall. The pledge adopted was as follows;

We agree to abstain from distilled spirits except for medicinal purposes,
and to discountenance the causes and practice of intemperance.¹⁷⁹

The prohibition on giving intoxicating liquors to others, included in the initial proposed rules of the society, was not included in the pledge, signifying a less stringent commitment than originally planned. This must have been a concession to the more moderate supporters.

Despite the large attendance, only 50 people were willing to sign initially, although by December there were 116 members of the society. Opposition was present at this meeting, a portent of the struggles to come. The Lincoln surgeon Frederick Kent showed his astuteness by advocating the prohibition of wine for members, on the grounds that the rich ought to set an example, but his suggestion was not accepted. Again, this was a victory for the more moderate elements.

Medical testimony was given by every Lincoln doctor at a subsequent public meeting on September 20 as to the harm caused by habitually drinking ardent spirits.¹⁸⁰ Around twenty signed the pledge at this time, others doing so later. By the end of September 1833, therefore, Lincoln's Temperance Society had been established as a moderationist, anti-spirits society affiliated to the London-based B.F.T.S.

As aforementioned, by 1833 auxiliaries of the B.F.T.S. had been formed in all the chief towns of England. Lincoln was therefore one of the later towns to join the national body. Harrison's table of the regional strength of the B.F.T.S. in England and Wales in 1834 shows that Lincolnshire was far behind the other 36 regions where membership numbers were concerned. There were 153 Lincolnshire members of the B.F.T.S. in 1834,¹⁸¹ which was 0.1% of the total membership (32nd in rank order) and 0.5% per 1,000 of Lincolnshire's population (35th in rank order). There were 25,119 members in Lancashire, by comparison, which had the highest percentage of total membership (29.2%), Cornwall having the highest number of members per 1,000 population (25.1). This puts the Lincoln position in perspective.¹⁸²

Information is available on some of the co-founders of the Lincoln Temperance Society. The Honourable Alexander Leslie Melville, son of the Earl of Leven and Melville as previously mentioned, was a Tory advocate at the Scottish bar, sent to Lincoln as

resident partner in the Smith Ellison bank. Elected Poor Law guardian and permanent Poor Law Union chairman for Lincoln, he held this office until 1870.¹⁸³

Sir Edward French Bromhead was baronet of Thurlby near Lincoln. The perpetual curate of Thurlby in 1826 was the Rev. D. S. Wayland, a co-founder of the Lincoln Temperance Society and of the first Lincolnshire temperance society, as noted previously. It can be assumed that Wayland influenced Bromhead to some extent. Bromhead was a Tory supporter of Peel, who had ‘not swum with the tide of Toryism [...] and at times [...] stood out strongly against the Tories’.¹⁸⁴ He was a scholar, mathematician, botanist and antiquary. Interested in social problems, he helped friendly societies in Lincoln maintain solvency by advising on the regulation of subscriptions and benefits. He held office as Steward of the City Courts in 1821 and was chairman of the Lincoln General Friendly Institution, (with over a hundred depositors in May 1833). He was involved in the Shipwreck Society and the Lunatic Asylum, (a vice-president of the latter in 1849), among others. He was a member of the turnpike trust and proposed, along with the radical W. Northouse, the establishment of the Mechanics’ Institute, of which he became president.¹⁸⁵ He paid £50 for the freedom of the city. Blind from 1841 until his death in 1855, according to Hill, he was regarded by some as a ‘busybody’ and by others as insane.¹⁸⁶

The Rev. George Quilter was Rector of Canwick in 1826, a village one mile south of Lincoln and formerly part of the County of the City of Lincoln. The village contained the seat of Charles Delaet Waldo Sibthorp, MP. Quilter was described in his obituary of November 1871 as beloved by all who knew him for his ‘unassuming manners, kindness of heart and his consistent conduct’.¹⁸⁷ Details of the Rev. Bergne have been given on page 446.

Frederick Kent was the son of the Rev G. D. Kent, vicar of St. Martin’s in Lincoln. He was a much respected and skilful surgeon, a Tory supporter willing to undertake public

office. He was elected as councillor for Upper ward, but his election was successfully challenged by the assessor (a Radical) on the grounds that he was a police surgeon. The brewer William Dawber took his place. He died 'in the prime of life' in July 1844.¹⁸⁸

The prime movers of the first Lincoln Temperance Society, therefore, were either Conservative members of the upper and middle classes, or religious ministers. This was consistent with the national pattern.

Although the *Stamford Mercury* reported an enthusiastic reception by a 'numerous and most respectable audience' for an hour-long lecture on the Temperance Reformation by the well-known visiting teetotal speaker Silk Buckingham in 1834, the society was short-lived.¹⁸⁹ On November 28 1834, the *Stamford Herald* reported the suspension of the auxiliary 'principally through the want of willing and efficient persons to superintend its operations'. To prosper, the society needed people who were prepared to devote time to it. Aristocrats, clergy and gentlemen patrons frequently made poor party workers. The paper also hinted at other obstacles. The society had not met with 'deserved sanction' but a remodelled version would be presented, hopefully including 'individuals who had a conscientious objection to its previous constitution'. This probably meant that the clergy were unsupportive, probably objecting to the pledge, (a common complaint at this time), although there may have been objections to the *form* of the pledge only. Harrison notes similar criticisms against the B.F.T.S. He states that there were few clergymen prepared to set an example by taking the pledge, and the Society's members preferred to use influence rather than their sound principles to forward the cause.¹⁹⁰

By 1837, teetotalism was spreading rapidly around the country, and Lincolnshire/Lincoln was obviously affected by this. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* reported in alarm in January 1838 that;

Teetotalism is becoming so prevalent that the consumption of malt is diminished to an extent that already touches the markets, and which, if further practised, will seriously affect the price of barley.¹⁹¹

The British Temperance Advocate and Journal proclaimed in 1839 that temperance exhibited a 'blaze of prosperity' in Lincolnshire, teetotalism seeming to 'pervade the mass of the population'. Parish clergy were even preaching teetotalism, with 'many intemperate characters' being reclaimed and joining the Christian church.¹⁹²

Naturally, not all parish clergy were of this opinion. An article by the pioneering Lincolnshire temperance vicar Rev. Wayland in *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, October 1840, outlined his objections to teetotal societies, as they were then constituted.¹⁹³ His basic objection was that in many cases advocates of total abstinence justified their action on grounds that conflicted with biblical principles. Certain (unnamed) advocates were accused of belittling the Bible both in secret and openly, and of proclaiming Christianity incapable of effecting the moral regeneration of men, having failed for over 1800 years. By placing the principles of total abstention above Christian ones, by declaring that it would effect a millennium of virtue and happiness, Wayland declared that the temperance cause aligned itself with socialism and infidelity, thereby showing its objective to be a change in the political and religious institutions, the destruction of individual property and the 'break up of all tender charities of domestic life, under the pretence of promoting the public good'.¹⁹⁴ Under these terms, he was unable to support total abstinence societies, preferring to work for the eradication of drunkenness through

moderate temperance societies. Only by stating clearly in the rules that their action was prompted by God, who alone was capable of changing man, and by disclaiming all unscriptural assertions, could Wayland support teetotal societies. He therefore did not condemn all total abstiners outright, only those who disassociated teetotalism from Christianity. This was a common clerical stand in 1840, as has been explained in chapter three and elsewhere. It is reiterated here because Wayland had had a part to play in the formation of Lincoln's 1833 Temperance Society.

In April 1837, the Lincoln Teetotal Society was formed. The polarisation of moderationists and teetotallers had come to a head in 1836 after the former were defeated in a well-publicised public debate of the Leeds Temperance Society. This may have spurred on the formation of the Teetotal Society in Lincoln the following year. No details of the society's instigation have been found, but reference is made to the first anniversary celebrations held on April 17 1838.¹⁹⁵ 'Numerous converts' were made in Lincoln, and visiting lecturers spoke in the Mechanics' Institute and elsewhere. Weekly meetings were held in the Wesleyan Sunday school rooms.¹⁹⁶ This venue is elucidative, for the established church in Lincoln had been involved in the earlier moderation society, but it was the dissenters, principally Wesleyan and Independent Methodists, who supported the radical teetotallers. The 'striking and pleasing' conversions at the weekly meetings indicates that the gatherings mirrored the Methodist pattern of operation.

The 'teetotal blacksmith' John Hockings, master of the music hall style oratory, delivered a teetotal lecture in the Mechanics' Institute in February 1837. A 'large and attentive audience', only a minority of which was working class, listened approvingly as he blamed inebriety for almost all the distress amongst the labouring classes. The largely middle class audience would probably have been content to agree with this representative of the working class as he apportioned blame for the plight of his fellow workers on the

workers themselves, pointing out that the remedy lay within each individual. The audience would have felt comfortably removed from a problem that they perceived affected them only indirectly at this stage. They would also have been entertained by the black-country dialect, gestures and inflexions that characterised Hockings' speeches. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* praised his 'strong, natural talents' while exalting the importance of the temperance cause. Although the *Chronicle* was not necessarily committed to teetotalism itself, ('Though everyone present would not subscribe to every sentiment expressed'), the newspaper lauded the zeal and devotedness of the lecturer and recommended the temperance cause to the Christian and patriot. This was important, for many different voices were denouncing teetotalism as anti-church and country at that time.¹⁹⁷

In 1837, therefore, the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* was solidly pro-temperance and cautiously in favour of teetotalism as a way of relieving the situation of the working classes. This was short lived. In March 1838, the supposed thrift occasioned by a teetotal lifestyle was questioned. The newspaper alluded to a Lincoln teetotaller who earned 14s per week 'but spent 10s on tee-totaling!! If this practice be general, we very much question the boasted utility of tee-total societies'.¹⁹⁸ By July 20 1838, the newspaper was positively scornful of the teetotal movement. It was said to be 'rapidly declining in Lincoln; [...] The novelty of the thing being past its downfall will be speedy'. Teetotalism was described as a 'petty extravagance'. The public parades of medal-bearing advocates carrying white banners depicting 'Good will to Man' and 'Peace on Earth', accompanied by bands of music had initially been tolerated. However, they too were later severely criticised, not the least for daring to hold their annual parade on Good Friday. The tirade bears repetition in its entirety.

This being Good Friday, that heterogeneous jumble of chartists, socialists, methodists and many other ists, championing what they call the teetotallers, intend celebrating the passion of Our Lord, by beating up with music and

parading the streets of Lincoln in procession. Surely such exhibitions should no more be [allowed] on this day than on a Sunday, the law requiring both to be held sacred in an equal degree. There is to be a grand gathering for tea in the afternoon, which will be followed by the usual harangues, in which holy writ is often distorted, and temperance held up as the only virtue.¹⁹⁹

The band did not escape criticism, a sarcastic tone being adopted towards it in February 1843.

It would be made more agreeable to the inhabitants ? since they are doomed to hear the said band ? if the performers would give them a little variation, instead of nightly boring them with but two tunes ? the only two they have ever been heard to perform in the public streets.²⁰⁰

By 1848, when the movement had regained its respectability, the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* returned its support. In April of that year it reported on the financial support offered by Lincoln's ex-MP Charles Seely to the Temperance Society. He had been unseated as one of Lincoln's MPs in 1848 after charges of bribery and 'treating his friends to liberal quantities of intoxicating drinks' were proved. Seely chaired the public meeting that was part of the temperance anniversary celebrations, and was praised by the *Chronicle* for his £1 2s annual donation to the teetotal cause. His radical political stance, obvious by 1847, no doubt soured the *Chronicle's* opinion of him, but there is undoubted approbation of the cause.

When we consider the character of the orgies with which Mr. Seely favoured the city prior to his return as MP and the number of boys who were made drunk at his expense at the free-and-easies [...] we certainly think Mr Seely bound to make efforts to repair the mischief [he conceived], and we are therefore glad to find his repentance assuming a practical shape.²⁰¹

See also page 473 for further confirmation of the *Chronicle's* attitude.

The prediction made in July 1838 concerning the imminent demise of teetotalism in Lincoln was an exaggeration, but the initial fervour did cool. Only twenty-five people

attended a meeting in the Infant School and no pledges were taken on November 23 1838. The *Stamford Mercury* declared the 1839 anniversary procession as ‘less showy’, although the institution was ‘as strong as ever’ in numbers. The same procession was reported in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* to have only forty individuals, most of whom were not from Lincoln; ‘teetotalism cannot be said to be gaining many admirers’.²⁰² The efforts of the society to recruit more members and increase failing funds, reported in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* on February 1 1839, had presumably not been entirely successful. However, as was so often the case, a catalyst appeared to revive the flagging Teetotal Society’s fortunes in the guise of the energetic, eloquent Rev. John Mussendine Holt. Holt, along with other ‘zealous promoters of the entire abstinence principle’, managed to popularise teetotalism in Lincoln once again. He was heartily congratulated in the *Stamford Mercury* for opening the minds of the people and appealing to their intellect. By dispelling the mists that cloud the mind, wider political gain was discerned by the Liberal newspaper;

[...] for after all, it is not in the senate, but in the silent homes, in the very bosoms of men, that the great battle for educational, political, and religious reforms will be fought and won.²⁰³

Weekly teetotal lectures were being held by November 1839, and the annual anniversary celebrations continued, and indeed can be traced up to and beyond the end of the period with which this thesis is concerned.²⁰⁴ The *London and Lincolnshire Mirror of Tee-Totalism* reported on the 1840 anniversary proceedings.²⁰⁵ There was the usual parade through the streets with flags and music, and tea in the City Assembly rooms accompanied by ‘animated and entertaining addresses’ from temperance advocates. The celebration was also reported in the *Stamford Mercury*, and signalled the first time that this newspaper elaborated on the benefits of teetotalism. Perhaps as the local rival (Conservative) *Chronicle* increasingly maligned the cause, the Liberal *Mercury* felt comfortable proclaiming its merits.

Small insolvent tradesmen [had become] solvent via temperance [...]. Thus to the separate elements of society temperance brings peace, plenty and comfort [...]. There is in the field a growing influence which will prove mightier than the sword, and temperance is contributing its quota to that influence. The Tories dread the changing moral aspect of Ireland.²⁰⁶

The allusion to Ireland refers to the teetotal work of Father Matthew.²⁰⁷ The increased sobriety in Ireland evident by 1840, and the consequent change evident in many of the working class, provided an opportunity for the Liberals of the *Stamford Mercury* to strike a passing political blow at their Tory rivals.

Support continued, and in January 1848 for example, the paper made a practical suggestion for enticing more people to give up strong drink. Prizes ‘and other inciting measures’ were proposed as a testimonial to redeemed virtue. It was explained that this was sound economics, for the drunkard was a ‘leaden tax’ upon society, the employers paying for the vicious habits of their servants. The article is interesting, for it goes beyond the mere reporting of and commenting on events, and attempts to contribute to the alleviation of a social problem.

The agent John Cassell reported in March 1840 that the cause was progressing well in Lincolnshire, the ‘leading and most flourishing’ societies having adopted the long pledge due to the influence of the Rechabites (i.e. the Rev. Holt, see page 472).²⁰⁸ Perhaps Lincoln was an exception, for there was a Lincoln auxiliary to the British and Foreign Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (Suppression Society) in 1840.²⁰⁹ Also, a report in *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*,²¹⁰ describes the Good Friday celebrations of the Lincoln Teetotal Society, established in 1837, auxiliary to the Suppression Society. The Suppression Society was teetotal, but allowed any pledge. In other words, purely personal abstainers could be members as well as those working to remove temptation from others (known as short and long pledgers). William Best represented Lincoln as delegate to the first annual meeting of the Suppression Society held

in London on May 14 1840, and was elected onto the committee. It will be remembered that the Suppression Society had split from the long-pledged N.B.F.T.S after rejecting the adoption of the American (long) pledge. It can be assumed, therefore, that Lincoln's Teetotal Society had some short-pledge sympathisers at least in the early 1840s.

The working classes had not been very involved with the temperance movement in Lincoln by 1840, as the 'numerous, respectable audiences' that listened to the lecturers testified. For example, a Mr. Crawford (probably the well-known William Crawford, a regular temperance advocate from June 1840), agent of the moderationist B.F.T.S., delivered addresses on total abstinence to such an audience at the Independent Chapel and the Infant School, in October 1840. He argued against the drinking of wine as being unscriptural.²¹¹ Perhaps it was this less than total support that occasioned the Suppression Society's travelling agent H. Freeman to report unenthusiastically in July 1840 that 'teetotalism is quite popular in [Lincoln]'. Much more needed to be done, however, for agent T. Dalton wrote in September 1840 that the friends in Lincoln would shortly engage 'in more active operations'.²¹²

Teetotal lecturers met with a poor response in February and March 1841, although attendance was 'numerous' on April 8 for G. D. Paine (well known professional agent of the Suppression Society).²¹³ Some lecturers were obviously more popular than others, and it would be unwise to speculate on the state of teetotalism in Lincoln on the strength of a few audiences. If the *Temperance Intelligencer* is to be believed, in 1841, 'The cause of teetotalism in the vicinity of Lincoln, presents a highly encouraging aspect'. Enthusiasm was such that a District Association had been formed with flourishing branches in order to spread teetotalism more easily throughout the surrounding Lincoln villages.²¹⁴

Festivals were consistently popular and many turned out for the Lincoln Teetotal Festival on April 9 1841. Over 300 had tea at the City Assembly Rooms and 24 new

members signed the pledge. The two-hour afternoon procession through the public streets, led by the Independent minister (presumably Bergne);

[...] formed a sight that would have gladdened the heart of a Father Matthew, though it had no particular charm for many of the Lincoln ministers of religion, who scruple to mix with reformed drunkards, and discard the principle that is the basis of the moral regeneration of mankind.²¹⁵

It is evident from the comments that many of the Lincoln clergy were anti-teetotalism at this time. Indeed, this was the case nationwide, especially for the established church.²¹⁶ A few months after the teetotal festival, a lecture given by Thomas Smeeton, delivered to an audience 'of turbulent spirits, which he managed in excellent style' addressed the concerns of the clergy.

The objection that it was the wish to place temperance in the place of religious and moral principles, was repelled. [...] to cure a man of intemperance, was to take from his mental vision a mist which prevented him from perceiving the beauties and advantages of religion and morality, and [...] the perception and adoption of the latter were in the majority of cases almost necessary consequences of temperance.²¹⁷

The role of the clergy in Lincoln's temperance societies has been discussed. Lincoln followed the national pattern in the early forties, the clergy of the established church working in the background, if at all, whilst many dissenters supported the cause in various ways. Lincoln's Church of England clergy, led by their Bishop Wordsworth, were antagonistic even in the 1870s, a time when the church was establishing its own temperance societies throughout the country. The bishop was very forthright in his declarations, as was seen in his *On Temperance Societies*. Notable Lincolnshire exceptions regarding the behaviour of the Church of England clergy were the previously mentioned Revs. Holt and Quilter.

The Lincoln Teetotal Society's links with the Wesleyan Church were facilitated by Thomas Holliday Barker, later Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance. According to

Hayler, he was secretary of the Lincoln Temperance Society in 1843.²¹⁸ The interchangeability of 'Temperance' and 'Teetotal' in a society's name is confusing, but was common from the late 1830s, as temperance became synonymous with teetotalism. It can be safely assumed that Lincoln's 1843 Temperance Society (as Hayler referred to it above) was the Teetotal Society established in 1837. It is not known when Barker became secretary, but he 'soon became locally celebrated for the great interest he took in temperance work'.²¹⁹ (The local fame may well be temperance hype, for no reference to Barker was found in Lincoln by this researcher). Barker had taken the total abstinence pledge in 1837 from John Cassell when living in Peterborough. Thereafter he left his work as clerk in a wine and spirit merchant's office, and moved to Lincoln. The date of his move is not known. Teetotal meetings were being held in the Wesleyan schoolroom in Lincoln in October 1837, as already mentioned. Barker may have left Peterborough in 1837 and moved to Lincoln, where he joined the teetotal society and persuaded his fellow Wesleyans to allow teetotal meetings in the schoolroom. He may well have been involved in the Wesleyan initiative to organise its own temperance society, as reported in the *Stamford Mercury* on April 1 1842. It is not known whether the society ever materialised.

In 1844, two illustrious lecturers spoke in the city, James Teare and Dr. R. B. Grindrod. Teare accompanied Father Matthew on his 1844 tour of England, and spoke in his own right in Lincoln in June of that year. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* dryly reports the fact, adding that 'several recruits' were made. In contrast, a report from the temperance supporter J. Clapham to the *National Temperance Advocate* claimed 'several hundreds have signed the pledge' due to Teare's efforts in Lincoln.²²⁰ The *Stamford Mercury*, by this time the champion of the cause in Lincoln, gave more extensive coverage. It used the opportunity to restate the evils of drunkenness and the benefits of temperance, claiming that the former was the cause of nearly all crime and poverty. Justice Maule was cited

somewhat cautiously as having given the same opinion from the bench. Many reformed Lincoln individuals had 'risen from indigence to comparative affluence', although no names were given.²²¹

Dr Grindrod began an extensive lecture tour in spring 1844. He started in Liverpool, travelled northward and returned via Lincolnshire. He used a valuable collection of physiological drawings to illustrate his lectures, which were later put on public view. These helped him to popularise the physical advantages of total abstinence. The whole tour was hugely successful and resulted in 4,600 'converts'. There was a doubling of the Lincoln Teetotal Society's membership ? between 920 and 1,140 pledges were taken, $\frac{2}{3}$ being juveniles. The number included 'many of the most influential inhabitants of the city'. The 'Coldstream Guards' (as the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* began to call teetotallers) were obviously given a boost by Grindrod's visit, its galvanising effect being similar to the Rev. Holt's previous visit. The lectures were 'literally crammed' and according to the *Stamford Mercury* had 'reached the masses'. This is indication that the composition of the large, respectable audiences of former times was finally changing. The working classes could be drawn to the city's Assembly room if the orator were good enough. On this occasion, however, it appears a mixed crowd was assembled, for the *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal* claimed ministers, physicians, surgeons, lawyers, magistrates, distillers, brewers, publicans and wine merchants among the 'motley assemblages'.²²² The *Mercury* recommended the divulgence of Dr. Grindrod's knowledge 'in a cheap and simple form' in order to reach the masses. It is known that distribution of such pamphlets was commonplace in other parts of the country, and the conclusion must be drawn that the Lincoln teetotallers were not assiduous distributors of such material.²²³

Dr. Grindrod's passage through Lincoln is also of interest because of the forceful reaction of the *Chronicle* to a report of his lectures printed initially in the *Nonconformist*, and reprinted in the *Mercury*, (it also appeared in the *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, January 18 1845). The article, (possibly written by T. H. Barker), claimed among other things that:

1) 'an eminent solicitor' called Mr. Andrew, chairman of the lectures on three evenings, had signed the pledge.

2) Charles Seely, chairman on the fourth evening, had presented £50 towards the proposed new temperance hall.

3) an alderman of the city had consigned all his stock of 'alcoholic poison' to the common sewer.

The *Chronicle* claimed that the authors of the initial article were 'some political dissenters connected with the tee-total movement in Lincoln', and the article was almost entirely untrue. Splitting hairs, it stated that Seely had taken out £50 of shares in the proposed new Temperance Hall, but had 'not given a farthing to the concern'. Mr. Andrew was dismissed as a young man 'with a decent common law practice' recently elected to the town council with the help of the Radicals. The alderman's story was described as 'pure fabrication'.²²⁴ (Seely's 1845 comments in favour of temperance societies, see page 435, reinforce the case for his support of the cause, however).

By 1845, Lincoln's Teetotal Society appears to have overcome its difficulties, helped greatly by Dr. Grindrod. Membership had increased, and consequently finances were healthier. Eight hundred sat down to tea in the theatre after the eighth anniversary procession in March 1845. The society was described as 'prosperous [...] due to working men and the influence of Dr. Grindrod's lectures'. The usual optimism was evinced, the chairman John Norton stating that temperance principles would soon 'rule the fashion of

the day'. Ominously, it was stated: 'Much secret opposition' still existed, but 'we intend to give no quarter to the enemy'.²²⁵

Moves were made to petition Parliament to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks on the Sabbath in March 1845. This was in line with the national movement for a reduction or extinction of Sunday drink trading, spearheaded by the travelling agents of the British Temperance Association. 899 petitions bearing 198,803 signatures were sent to Parliament on this question during the 1845 session.²²⁶

Mr. M^cKenna lectured on March 3 1845 on the principles and advantages of the Temperance Provident and Life Assurance Institution, a savings bank. (This was probably J. McKenna, a member of the Irish Roman Catholic Temperance Society of Liverpool, who was noted for his powerful addresses).²²⁷ The *Stamford Mercury* was very sceptical, warning teetotallers that although the intention may be 'good and honest,' $\frac{3}{4}$ of such speculations ended in insolvency. Its position was that the movement should concentrate on the reformation of bad habits, 'its legitimate objective', and not stray into other fields. This restrictive vision of the movement's 'legitimate' aims is interesting, but was increasingly out of step with reality. As the movement became entrenched in society it expanded in multiple directions and 'attacked' on various fronts. Reformation of 'bad habits' was always the ultimate objective, but spin offs like the savings bank became part of the movement too, and were accepted as such, so much so that in June 1849 the *Mercury* was reporting much more favourably on Mr. M^cKenna's life insurance.²²⁸

In 1846, membership numbers can finally be ascertained from the Teetotal Society's annual report. This researcher found no trace of the report, but it is mentioned by Russell, who refers to the 900 adult and 400 juvenile members. (Lincoln's population at that time must have been around 15,500). Reference was made to the society's 'useful reading rooms and library', the latter boasting over 140 volumes.²²⁹ It certainly seems to

have been flourishing, for nine monthly periodicals were taken, one daily paper, and several weekly journals. Open six nights a week, it relished in ‘informing and elevating the intellect of those it has rescued from brutal indulgences’.²³⁰ The tone of the report is optimistic. The anniversary celebration lecture in the Wesleyan chapel was preached by the ‘earnest advocate of total abstinence’ the Wesleyan Rev R. Tabraham of Wainfleet, who addressed the thorny biblical wine issue. The evening tea gathering was held in the Assembly rooms, with 300 present. £12 profit was made and 12 new converts obtained.²³¹

In 1847, the prospects did not look so good for the teetotallers. Although large audiences were common for ‘forceful’ speakers, this did not translate into additional members of the Teetotal Society. Even the mighty Teare was proving insufficient to move the masses. Despite his lectures in April 1847, the *Mercury* lamented that ‘of late [...] the number of converts made has not been numerous’. Although the continued ‘bad habits’ of the labouring population afforded ‘plenty of room for amendment’, the newspaper did not question the efficiency and suitability of the teetotallers’ policies. Perhaps, as the *Chronicle* had predicted earlier, the novelty was simply wearing off.²³²

Yet, in September 1846, the City Assembly rooms had been too small to hold everyone who wished to hear ‘The Scottish Father Matthew’, Robert Grey Mason. Mason, a Baptist, was one of the first to espouse the temperance cause in Scotland, and was an agent for the East Norfolk Temperance Union, the South Midland Temperance Union, as well as the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance (founded in 1835 chiefly due to the efforts of Dr. Grindrod ? see chapter three). His brilliant, forceful oratory and ‘thrilling description’ of Loch Lomond was just the thing to attract the crowds. Mason had given an estimated 5,000 temperance addresses in 1,300 places during his seven-year temperance advocacy in Scotland, from 1836.²³³

Oak Tent number 114 of the Independent Order of Rechabites, a teetotal friendly society, was started in Lincoln in July 1838 almost certainly with Rev. Holt's influence. Unfortunately, little is known of its workings in Lincoln apart from the fact that they joined in the annual teetotal festivities on Good Friday of each year and held their own anniversary celebrations in July/August.²³⁴

The District Chief Ruler of the Rechabites in Lincolnshire was one of the founders of the total abstinence movement in that county. He was the aforementioned Rev John Mussendine Holt, vicar of the established church at Fulstow from January 1835 and otherwise known as 'The Lincolnshire Father Matthew'. Holt was on the inaugural executive committee of the Rechabites in 1835, High Treasurer from 1835-41, and head (High Chief Ruler) of the United Order of Female Rechabites between 1840-2.²³⁵ The Rechabites of Market Rasen named their tent after him ? Holt Tent number 167. His work extended far beyond the Rechabites, however, for he was Vice-President of the British Association in 1848 until at least 1854, President and Treasurer of the North Lincolnshire Tee-Total Union,²³⁶ founding President of Louth Tee-total Society (established in 1836),²³⁷ and was elected a vice-president of The Lincolnshire Association for the Promotion of Temperance in 1853. He headed teetotal processions and chaired/addressed meetings throughout the north of Lincolnshire, and beyond. Henry Winn met Holt at a Louth Temperance Hotel and described him as 'a fine portly figure, [who] looks extremely well "for a teetotaller"; and he appears to have as little affectation and pride in his manner as any man I ever met with'. He went on to underline the similarity between Holt and Father Matthew, 'two philanthropic priests'. There is no doubt that Holt was a powerful force for teetotalism in Lincolnshire.²³⁸

The importance of combination among the temperance societies was always recognised, and District/County Unions or Associations were created through the efforts of the travelling agents. Sometimes one county, or part of a county, was formed into a union, sometimes two or more counties, the objective being to extend the original area of influence.

It was at the time of Mason's Lincoln lecture in 1846 that an important step was taken by the Lincoln Teetotal Society to engage the services of 'a gentleman of talent' to lecture in the towns and villages of the county. This could well have been Mason himself. The agent was commissioned to form a union of the various Lincolnshire societies already established. It can be seen that for the first time the Lincoln Teetotal Society was financially sound enough to employ its own lecturer and felt able to assume a leadership role in the county.²³⁹

The Lincolnshire Temperance Association was formed in Lincoln in November 1847 and was most probably the fruit of the September 1846 initiative. (The North Lincolnshire Temperance Union had been established before 1840, but its fate is not known. A Temperance Association for South Lincolnshire was formed on November 12 1840).²⁴⁰ The Lincolnshire Temperance Association could have been a substitute for the separate Associations for north and south Lincolnshire, but this is mere conjecture.

In order to win converts, the Association proposed providing free monthly lectures to the public. To this end, Joseph Bormond (well known professional agent of the British Temperance Association) was contracted to give lectures once a month in the spring and summer of 1848.²⁴¹ His first lecture was delivered much earlier in January 1848, however, and was a great success. According to the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, Bormond's humour and

original style, along with his ‘cogent reasoning’, made the British drinking customs ‘appear what they really are ? barbarous and ridiculous’. A large, respectable audience appreciated the talk. The gratuitous nature of the lectures was intended to attract the working classes, but presumably this did not happen. Bormond may well have been preaching to the converted. What is interesting in this *Chronicle* report is the distinctive change in tone. (This was noted on page 462, referring to 1848, but to a totally different occasion). Gone is the sarcasm and name-calling. One supposes that the eclipse of the ‘rough,’ radical teetotallers with their loud bands of music and garish parades had influenced the newspaper.²⁴²

The Lincolnshire Temperance Association probably ceased functioning sometime before 1851, for in 1853 there is notice of the second anniversary of the Lincolnshire Association, held in Gainsborough. A revival must have taken place in 1851. In 1853, H. Boothby jun. was President, and Rev. Holt was one of its most active supporters. Three successive agents were appointed for three months each, and a balance in hand of £10 9s 10d was declared. In 1854, the financial position of the association was ‘rather unsatisfactory’, a deficit of £4 10s 1d being recorded. An extension of the lecturing season to nine months had been proposed, but was subject to member societies paying fully for those services. Agents’ salaries and travelling expenses had cost £379 12s 9d during 1853-4.²⁴³

The Fifteenth Annual Conference of the British Temperance Association, Lincoln, 1849

The most important temperance event in Lincoln of 1849, and probably of the whole decade, was the fifteenth annual conference of the teetotal British Temperance Association, held in Lincoln from July 3-5. Interestingly, apart from considering action

related to parliamentary initiatives of interest to them, teetotallers were urged to advertise their proceedings more widely, the help of the press being duly acknowledged. This is further evidence that the movement, on a national level, felt itself becoming withdrawn. One resolution recommended the formation of Ladies' Societies. The population of the city must have felt 'bombarded' by the teetotal invasion for on the Wednesday the many delegates disbursed around the city and addressed the public out-of-doors. This may have influenced some of the 250 who signed the teetotal pledge in Lincoln during 1849.²⁴⁴

The Sons of Temperance Working Men's Association, 1851

The Sons of Temperance was (is) a teetotal friendly society.²⁴⁵ The society was established in America on September 29 1842, and was implanted in Liverpool through word of mouth from transatlantic sailors in November 1849. Further Divisions were set up in Liverpool and Manchester, and the National Division of Great Britain and Ireland was inaugurated on April 6 1855. By June 1860, there were 48 Divisions and a membership of 1,583.

A Sons of Temperance Working Men's Association was set up in Lincoln around April 1851. 'Temperance' and 'teetotal' had become synonymous by this time. (The *Stamford Mercury* and the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* tended to call the Lincoln advocates 'teetotallers' even though they consistently called their society 'Lincoln Temperance Society' from the early 1850s) The Sons of Temperance Working Men's Association may well have been influenced by a national movement in favour of the establishment of Young Men's Temperance Societies, conducted by W. A. Fletcher 'and others' from 1851.

In April 1851, Lincoln's young working men belonging to the Association held a temperance festival in the Newland Chapel (Independent's), where the Rev. E. R. Metcalfe

and other gentlemen addressed them. The purpose was to raise funds 'for the carrying out [of] the objects of the society'. The Society gave its objectives at that time as being: to shield members from the evils of intemperance; to afford mutual assistance in times of sickness; to provide money on the death of a member; to elevate character; to enlist workers to reclaim strong drinkers; to save the young from strong drink; and to assist in every way the suppression of the drink traffic. The Association was a self help group where members met together to provide mutual support against intemperance. The name suggests it was class-based. Regular weekly meetings for self-improvement were being held from May 1851. The *Chronicle* facetiously remarked on the 'magnificent treat' the Sons of Temperance and others would have whilst listening to a Mr. Short, 'a free trader, a peace man, a teetotaler [*sic*], a financial reformer, a progress man, a nineteenth-century man etc. etc. etc.'²⁴⁶

Lincoln Temperance Society, 1854

In 1854, another Temperance Society was established by William Richardson, Charles Akrill and others. It is unclear whether the older Teetotal Society had become moribund or whether the two societies co-existed. According to the Temperance Society's 1857 third Annual Report, some of the 1854 founders had been connected with the movement for over twenty years. It seems likely that the 1854 society replaced the 1837 one, especially as no reports of schisms appeared in the press.²⁴⁷

The Report shows clearly that despite being an independent total abstinence society, the new society was closely linked to the United Kingdom Alliance. The committee declared 'the deepest sympathy' with the Alliance, and a resolution to co-operate with it as far as possible. There is a record of support for the Permissive Bill from

the Lincoln Temperance Society in 1859 in *Alliance Weekly News* and the promise of a petition in its favour. The Lincoln Temperance Society also subscribed to Alliance funds from 1868-72, probably continuing to do so after this time.²⁴⁸

Whereas no pledge was needed for membership of the Alliance, both abstainers and non-abstainers being admitted as members, the Lincoln Temperance Society had a pledge: 'I agree to abstain from all intoxicating liquor as a beverage, and in all suitable ways to discountenance their use throughout the community'. The Lincoln Society was more binding than the Alliance, therefore.

Little is known of the constitution of the Society, whose aim was 'to promote the entire disuse of all alcoholic drinks'. Membership numbers have not been found, but an *additional* 120 pledges had been taken between October 1856-7, and 61 new subscribers added. The committee was pleased that not only former inebriates had joined, but also young men who had never been intemperate. The president in 1857 was Capt. J. Bufham, the treasurer Charles Akrill, the secretary Thomas Parker and the assistant secretary John V. Cunnington. There were sixteen men on the committee, all officers being elected annually at the General Meeting. The Society was not particularly concerned about the social aspect of temperance ? promoting fellowship, strengthening common bonds etc. ? for the entire membership met only three times a year for such purposes, in the first week of February, May and August. The work was carried out by the committee, which met monthly. It is worth noting that Rule 9 prohibited remarks of a party or religious character, thus keeping up the temperance tradition of striving for as harmonious and all-embracing a society as possible.²⁴⁹

Information is known about three officials. Charles Akrill, one of the Society's co-founders and treasurer in 1857, was an Independent Methodist, a printer, bookseller and stationer. Indeed, he supplied the Temperance Society and was owed £2 12s 11d per the

1857 accounts, having received £4 8s 9d. He was mentioned earlier as secretary to the Mechanics' Institute. He was also agent to the Sunday School Union and the United Kingdom General Provident Institute, held the post of sheriff, and was a councillor in 1873. He was also on the inaugural committee of the Lincoln Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, established on July 25 1850, and was elected its president in February 1852. He presided over many public meetings on the Maine Law, for example one convened by Edward Grubb, the Alliance agent, on Jan 25 1855. He subscribed 5s to the Alliance General Fund in 1862. He chaired the anniversary meeting of the Lincoln Temperance Society in April 1871, and was elected treasurer of the Lincolnshire Temperance Association at that time.²⁵⁰

W. W. Richardson, J.P., (1834-1900), another co-founder, was the Society's president at the time of his death, as he had been twice before. His obituary describes him as an ardent temperance worker from his mid-teens, good at reciting and an excellent speaker. 'In the old days' he was received with 'hearty applause' at the Saturday night [temperance?] concerts. He was a Wesleyan Methodist and held all their important offices. He was on the committee of the Ragged School for many years, and in 1883 he was the City Sheriff, and a councillor in 1886. He became mayor in 1891. He gave a 'splendid teetotal reception' at the opening of the new Public Library and the new corporation offices and police station. He was connected to the Liberal party and had worked for many years at Doughty and Sons, agricultural machinists.²⁵¹

The secretary Thomas Parker, believed to be a joiner by trade,²⁵² subscribed in an individual capacity to the Alliance General Fund in 1857, and to its Ministerial Fund in 1859. He also promoted and subscribed £2 2s to F R Lees' 1,000 guinea Testimonial Fund. He chaired a Maine Law meeting on December 21 1858 at the Methodist Schoolroom. This was one of two meetings when Alliance agent Edward Grubb spoke on 'The

Principles and Policy of the United Kingdom Alliance', 'The Permissive Bill', and 'The Political and Social Ethics of the Temperance Reformation'.²⁵³

Alliance apologists had been speaking in Lincoln since 1855. A few of the earlier encounters will be sketched below, it being unnecessary to record every event. John Sergeant, the Alliance Visiting agent from Manchester, delivered a lecture on the Maine Liquor Law at the theatre on December 13 1855. The audience was small, around 50 men, largely working class. The *Chronicle* congratulated the mayor on having refused the use of the Guildhall to the 'stranger orators'. Fear of disturbances was given as the reason, as there had been trouble previously in Sheffield and other places. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Mercury* summarised Sergeant's arguments, thus presenting the Alliance case. A neutral tone was adopted by both papers.²⁵⁴

In February 1857, Lincoln was visited by A. S. Harrison, who lectured twice on the Maine Law in the Guildhall. In July of the same year 'a concourse of people' assembled on the Corn Hill to hear a lecture on the advantages and benefits of a Maine Law by Rev. A. Crisp from Nottingham. All lectures were under the auspices of the United Kingdom Alliance. Regarding the latter, the majority in the audience appeared 'to care very little about the lecturer or his subject'.²⁵⁵ The Lincoln Temperance Society's Annual Report stated, however, that a 'numerous and respectable audience' listened to the Rev. Crisp. He obviously failed to move them.

In November 1859, in the Free Methodist schoolroom, a Maine Law meeting was addressed by George E. Lomax, agent of the Manchester and Salford Union, London Temperance League and probably others ? agents were hired for a stipulated period or to give a series of lectures. There was a small attendance for 'the popular temperance orator', but he managed to obtain the habitual unanimous vote in favour of the Permissive Bill.²⁵⁶

The unanimity points to an audience already predisposed to the measure, the lecturer having merely ‘preached to the converted’.

If, as seems likely, the 1854 Temperance Society had failed to touch the majority of Lincoln’s population, it is not surprising that five years after its establishment the slump noted in earlier ventures was repeated. The *Stamford Mercury* noted on July 1 1859 that;

“Total abstinence”, though an excellent practice, seems to be at a discount in Lincoln, two or three lecturers having essayed to address the public on the subject on the Cornhill, but though they have “piped, few have danced”.

To back up the assertion, the audience at the public meeting of the 1859 anniversary of the Lincoln Temperance Society was only ‘tolerably large’, the Free Methodist School being the venue.²⁵⁷

Lincoln Temperance Society, 1866

By 1866, although the juvenile Bands of Hope were doing well, the adult society had been ‘in abeyance of late years’.²⁵⁸ The initial enthusiasm had again subsided. However, the stalwarts would not be beaten. At a meeting of teetotallers held in the Corn Exchange on September 20 1866, it was decided to establish (another) Temperance Society. A committee was formed ‘for the management of the same and for drawing the attention of the people to the subject’. Charles Akrill was in the chair. Three months later they were conducting ‘a vigorous campaign’, and held two meetings in one week, at the Corn Exchange and the Baptist chapel, St. Benedict’s Square. The teetotallers were on their way up again!²⁵⁹

The new society was greatly attached to Alliance policies. The Hon. Neal Dow, on his second lecturing visit to Britain urging prohibition, (it will be remembered that he was responsible for the implementation of the Maine Law in Maine, USA,) spoke at a public

meeting in Lincoln in February 1867. The hall was well filled ‘by persons of the labouring class’, and resolutions in favour of the Alliance’s objectives were passed.²⁶⁰

A course of five lectures by different individuals connected with the Lincoln Temperance Society was begun in March 1867. Rev. W. F. Clarkson of the Newland Congregational chapel spoke on ‘My Summer Holiday’ on March 14. Big guns came to Lincoln on March 19 1868 when the Alliance agent J. H. Raper spoke at the Corn Exchange, and when in November of that year Richard Horne of the British Temperance League gave one of his many addresses in the Baptist chapel, St. Benedict’s Square. A Lincoln Auxiliary to the British Temperance League is recorded between 1870-2. This was probably the 1866 Temperance Society, which may well have been affiliated to more than one national organisation.²⁶¹ Horne was very popular, especially with the working classes, possessing the requisite ‘graphic style’, and amusing anecdotes to guarantee large audiences. Dr. Lees addressed a well-filled hall in December, and ‘barring some strong peculiarities of delivery’ (discussed in chapter three), his lecture was ‘of an able character’.²⁶²

When the Permissive Bill went before the House of Commons in 1869, the Alliance increased its propaganda efforts. Rev. Gale and Mr. Mart of Derby explained the principles of the bill in the Corn Exchange to a large audience, and resolutions were passed in its favour. Numerous petitions in favour of the Permissive Bill were signed by people from the various religious bodies, as well as individual citizens. Lincoln teetotallers were reported as totalling 1,200 in number.²⁶³ The momentum increased as crowd-pulling lecturers like the American G. H. Pearce, ‘the modern Gough’, drew large audiences of 2,000 people to lectures in 1870. Pearce’s performance was described as ‘action, action, action’, although some thought his vocals ‘overdone’. He took advantage of his second Lincoln lecture to denounce the newspaper reports that Gough had returned to his old

drunken ways (see chapter three for the Gough/Lees controversy). Gough was said to be 'as earnest an advocate of teetotalism as ever and giving his earnings to the temperance cause'.²⁶⁴

An energetic campaign was organised for the summer of 1870. Public meetings at diverse city venues, open air meetings and lectures in school rooms were all programmed as the movement both nationally and locally took on new momentum. As noted in chapter five, petitions and surveys were popular nation-wide around this time, and Lincoln was no exception. A house-to-house canvass of support for Sir Wilfred Lawson's Permissive Bill was undertaken in July 1870, when a petition was got up, destined for the House of Commons. Two thousand signatures were obtained as well as a memorial with 1,000 signatures to Charles Seely, member of parliament for Lincoln, requesting him to vote in favour of the bill. Printed forms were distributed in April 1871 by the teetotallers to the householders 'and others' of Lincoln, to ascertain the strength of support for the Permissive Bill.²⁶⁵ The results are not known.

Meetings were held to the end of the period under review, and obviously beyond. In 1871, the Temperance Society's debt had been reduced to £2 1s 9d, which meant that although it was not on a very sound financial footing, it was nevertheless not floundering.

Confusion is caused by the *Stamford Mercury's* labelling of the Temperance Society's anniversary meeting in April 1871 ('one of the best and most encouraging ever held in the old city') as the 34th meeting. In other words, the inception was taken as being in 1837. However, in September 1871, the Temperance Society's 5th Annual Report was published, in other words the 1866 Society's report. Were there two societies co-existing? It seems unlikely. The newspaper probably confused the dates. This was easily done as the Temperance Society had risen like the proverbial phoenix various times. One could argue

that there had been only one Society that had changed its name (Teetotal/Temperance) and its principal protagonists throughout the years.²⁶⁶

The Independent Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.), 1871

The Good Templar Order was introduced from America into England by Joseph Malins in 1868, and the Grand Lodge of England was instituted on July 25 1870. Lodges were quickly established all over Britain. There were over 200,000 members by 1874. A branch of the Good Templars was established in Lincoln in November 1871 on the instigation of Bro. Thomas Fawcett of Sleaford. In February 1872 a public tea and entertainment was reported, 'the first of its kind in Lincoln'. In March, similar public entertainment was held, supplemented by a theatrical performance and addresses from the prominent Good Templars R. Bayley and Mr. Lineham. They graced the platform making a 'gay appearance' in their regalia in May, when Pearce, 'the modern Gough', again lectured in Lincoln. They did so well that a new lodge was opened in the Independent chapel, St. Peter's-at-Gowt's in December 1872.²⁶⁷

Sabbath drinking

A petition for the complete closure of public houses on Sundays was initiated by a Mr. Bulman of Lincoln at the Temperance Society's anniversary meeting on Good Friday 1852. It was signed 'numerously' by the large audience that attended the evening session. This incursion into temperance petitioning, begun in March 1845 as previously noted, was a sign that the city was abreast of national developments and willing to accompany them. The 1848 Alehouses and Beerhouses Act had closed all drink-selling establishments until 12.30 p.m. but this was insufficient for many. Sabbath-breaking had always been frowned

upon in the cathedral city, and it is not surprising that not only should compliance with the law be urged, but also a furtherance of legal prohibition. The cause was sporadically pursued until a large meeting in Lincoln's Corn Exchange presided over by the Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth) resolved the following:

- 1) that the sale of intoxicating liquor on Sunday is greatly injurious to public order, is the cause of much of the neglect of religion shown by the mass of the public, and is productive of a large amount of domestic misery, pauperism and crime.
- 2) that it is expedient that the sale of liquors should be placed on the same footing as other trades, due provision being made for travellers and lodgers.
- 3) that a memorial be sent to the government embodying the views enumerated, and that a branch association [of the Central Association for Stopping the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday or CASSILS] be formed in Lincoln.²⁶⁸

No further information has been found on the proposed Lincoln branch of CASSILS up to 1872.

Bulman declared in favour of complete, permanent Sunday closing, and hoped the British parliament;

[...] would pass a similar law [to the Maine law] so the dealers in intoxicating drinks should be made as responsible as druggists who sell other kinds of poison.²⁶⁹

The Wilson-Patten Act, passed in 1854, two years after Bulman's plea, was not nearly as extreme as the Maine Law, but was a step in that direction.²⁷⁰ As mentioned in chapter 5, it curtailed Sunday drinking. Publicans were warned in Lincoln to open only from 12.30 p.m. ? 2 p.m. and from 6 p.m. ? 10 p.m., thereafter opening only after 4 a.m. on Monday morning. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* reported that the new act was 'very stringently carried out' in Lincoln on the first Sunday of its operation. The beer-drinkers were said to be very dissatisfied with the new times, but the publicans themselves were said to favour complete Sunday closure.²⁷¹

Bands of Hope, 1855, 1858 and 1862

The tendency around the 1850s to be inward looking and focussed on the youngsters who had not yet acquired the drink habit was a national one, as explained in chapter three. In Lincoln, three hundred juvenile members sat down to plum cake and tea at 3d each in September 1848, at the temperance festival. The first of many theatrical dramas was performed by them in the evening, to an audience of 400 who had paid 2d each. This festival marks the beginning of a concentration on the youth in Lincoln that was to intensify with the years.

Obelkevich, in describing the subsequent developments in Primitive Methodism after revivalism and missioning, describes the turn inward and the concentration on the children, both in the family and Sunday school, as the new missionary objects from 1860 onwards. Methodism's connection with temperance has already been mentioned, and so it is not surprising that their turn inwards was also reflected in the temperance movement. Bands of Hope were established all over the country from 1847, (although not necessarily tied to a place of worship), and Lincoln was no exception.²⁷²

William Richardson, Charles Akrill, W. H. Blow, John Richardson, Thomas Pickalay and others were instrumental in forming the first Lincoln Band of Hope, at the Clasketgate Wesleyan chapel on November 16 1855. The initial expansion had already taken place nationally between 1848 and 1852, so Lincoln was by no means at the forefront of the movement. Rev. Marshall Randles, (Clasketgate Wesleyan Minister until 1869), was president, William Richardson was secretary and C. F. Cottam was assistant secretary. The objective was 'the promotion of total abstinence among the young, and [...] the advancement of morality and religion'. Total abstinence and 'good moral conduct'

were essential for membership. Children signed the following pledge on the approval of their parents;

I agree to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, and from tobacco in all its forms.²⁷³

Monthly contributions of one penny were paid that allowed entry to the ordinary meetings, the July and November Tea Meetings, and receipt of a monthly copy of the *Band of Hope Review*²⁷⁴ or the *Adviser*. Rule 15 was rather chilling: ‘Those who manage [the meetings] will, in a few years, be removed by death, ? qualify yourself to carry them on when they are dead’.

One hundred people celebrated the first anniversary held in the day school, Grantham Street. This was half the total membership at that time. The members were addressed by Messrs Plumtree, Rowe, Hardy and Dr. Cammock, and were then entertained with recitals and songs.²⁷⁵ At the seventh anniversary celebrations in July 1862, which included sports at the Temple Gardens, Rev. Randles reported that 675 had joined the society since its beginning, 150 in the previous year. (Total membership was 570, meaning 105 children had either lapsed or outgrown the society). Weekly meetings were conducted at this time by the older, longer-standing boys, supplemented by several lectures and classes in shorthand and singing. The finances were not very satisfactory, a deficit of £2 14s 9d being reported.²⁷⁶

Throughout the late 1850s, 1860s and 1870s there are reports of the anniversary and tea meetings, always accompanied by recitals and entertainment from the children, often in the form of a temperance play. Large audiences accompanied the performances. These gatherings mirrored the Methodists’ Good Friday Sunday school anniversaries. Certainly, the form was identical ? a public procession with banners and hymn-singing,

recitals by the children followed by games and then a treat of tea and plum cake while the adults held a tea meeting followed by public addresses.²⁷⁷

By June 1870, the juveniles were enjoying an annual outing. In this year it was to Broxholme.²⁷⁸ Presumably, the finances were sounder by this time. The final meeting relevant to this thesis was held on December 2 1872, being the 17th anniversary. Tea drinking was partaken of in the schoolroom, Grantham Street, with John Collingham presiding. The adults at this time were undertaking their vigorous Permissive Bill campaign, described above, and so it would seem that temperance activity around 1870 was greater than it had ever been before.

A second Band of Hope had been established in Lincoln in 1858 by the Silver Street Independent Methodists. There may well have been a Baptist Band of Hope at that time too.²⁷⁹ In 1859 the children performed 'The Trial of Sir Timothy Traffic', which was obviously influenced by the Alliance. Four hundred had tea, and the large Corn Exchange was filled for the evening performance (admission was free).²⁸⁰ The tenth anniversary celebration, April 1868, was marked by about 200 taking tea and watching 'Danesbury House', Mrs H. Wood's prize temperance tale, enacted by the members.²⁸¹ Although the Wesleyan anniversaries continued to be reported by the *Stamford Mercury* up to 1872, the Silver Street Band of Hope is not mentioned between 1868-72.

A further Band of Hope celebrated its sixth anniversary in Saxton Street chapel (Free Methodists) in January 1868.²⁸² It was therefore set up in 1862, although no trace of this event has been found. Other chapels may well have had their own small Bands of Hope from the late 1850s, their small-scale activities not warranting the attention of the press. The predominance of dissenting influence in the adult temperance activity in Lincoln was thus extended to the juveniles long before the established church made such efforts to protect the children. (None were traced up to 1872).

Temperance gatherings

From the late 1840s, temperance outings were common, made possible by the extension of the railways. They afforded the participants a day's enjoyment away from home, and served to show the strength of the cause to outsiders. Lincoln's natural attractions made it a good venue for such visits, as in June 1849 when 3,000 abstainers descended on the city from Birmingham. Joseph Sturge spoke at the Corn Exchange.²⁸³ In 1852 and 1853, when temperance societies all over England were struggling somewhat (see chapter five), massive numbers attended the Lincoln Temperance galas. These supplemented the societies' anniversary celebrations and were held in August. They attracted large numbers of people from outside Lincoln (Leicester, Derby Nottingham, Boston, Peterborough, Gainsborough etc.), special trains being hired for the outing. Use was made of Lincoln's Temple Gardens, 'a delightful and healthy place of recreation' leased 'some years' before 1856 to Joseph Moore. The extensive gardens allowed the large crowds to enjoy refreshments and listen to the Lincoln Temperance Brass Band as well as the many speakers dotted around the extensive grounds. In 1853, the Lincoln Temperance gala mustered around 6,500 participants. Although not all those who attended the galas were necessarily abstainers, the social side of the movement was evidently strong. In 1869, trips were still popular, as can be seen from the 150 who boarded the special train to the 'Temperance and Alliance gathering' at Alton Towers in August 1869.²⁸⁴

The Temperance Hall, 1871

The temperance advocates began by using rooms belonging to either religious denominations or the city (school and lecture rooms, the city assembly rooms etc.). By

1844, they had their own room in Guildhall Street, and in 1845 lectures were being held in the temperance rooms in nearby Saltergate.²⁸⁵ The rooms were increasingly inadequate, however, especially when large audiences assembled to hear popular visiting speakers, or when tea parties were held. It was felt that a temperance hall was needed. Alford teetotallers had erected the first in Lincolnshire in October 1839, and others had followed.²⁸⁶ The scheme was approved at the end of September 1844, finance to be obtained from the sale of £1 shares. Grantham Lane was the site chosen for the building, which was to accommodate between 700-1,000 people and be suitable for concerts, lectures and public meetings.²⁸⁷ By February 1845, plans of the building were on public exhibition in James Drury's shop window. Hill says the hall was opened in Grantham Street wherein 'zealous workers carried on an unending series of concerts and lectures'. He gives no date or references for the opening.²⁸⁸ In fact, the project never matured and it was only in 1871 that a temperance hall was finally opened. Before that, a long road was trodden.

In April 1847, the unoccupied City Arms Hotel was being used as a venue for the anniversary festivities and for lectures by James Teare. This was pulled down to make way for shops at the end of that year.²⁸⁹ From 1849, the Corn Exchange was the popular venue for temperance lectures. According to John Norton, in 1844/5 the teetotallers had been instrumental in 'stirring up the leading merchants and tradesmen of the city' to build the Corn Exchange, part of which was rented out to the Temperance Society.²⁹⁰ In 1852, John Norton again advocated the erection of a temperance hall at the Lincoln Temperance Society's anniversary celebrations. He offered to buy £25 or £50 worth of shares 'if the project advanced'.²⁹¹ Yet again, in March 1869, the *Stamford Mercury* was reporting that a project was afoot for erecting a temperance hall on the north side of St. Benedict's Square, in place of several old tenements.²⁹² It is not known how far this was mere rumour, but

only six months later the teetotallers were reported to be considering converting the old Baptist chapel at Mint Lane into a hall for lectures and other meetings.²⁹³ In June 1870, the teetotallers were still feeling greatly 'the want of a hall of their own'.²⁹⁴ In April 1871, premises originally used as the Working Men's Club were finally purchased by the teetotallers for £525. Alterations were estimated at £600. The site was the old Sheep Square, which must have become St Swithin's Square later, for a temperance hall was erected there in 1871 and used until around 1902. A photograph of the hall is reproduced on the title page of this chapter. The mayor and corporation donated £50, demonstrating official approbation of the temperance cause in the early 1870s. Various celebratory services, lectures and tea meetings were held at the opening at the beginning of September, and £12 10s profit was made. Large audiences attended the different functions, on one occasion necessitating the opening of the lower part of the building. In all, the hall was composed of a lecture room (first floor), and two smaller rooms on the ground floor, with a kitchen. It was hired out to other associations, for example the Oddfellows. This would have brought in some revenue.

In August 1872, a temperance museum was opened in the hall. It was 'well worth a visit' and 'tolerably well patronised' according to the *Stamford Mercury*.²⁹⁵ By the close of the period under investigation, therefore, Lincoln's temperance activists had institutionalised forty years of activity/history with a display of memorabilia. Unfortunately, the subsequent history of the museum is not known, but the hall was rebuilt as the Central Hall and Lawson Institute in 1902 in the style of a modern theatre. With a capacity for 1,000 people, lectures and concerts as well as temperance activities took place there until the decline of temperance led to the hall's conversion into a cinema. It was destroyed by fire on March 6 1944, and the shell demolished in 1960.²⁹⁶

Chartist activity seems to have been sparse in Lincoln. A petition was got up in December 1847 in favour of Chartist principles: ‘universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, paid members, and generally for giving everything to everybody’, according to the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*.²⁹⁷ The Chartist Henry Vincent’s connection with Teetotal Chartism has been described in chapter three. It will be remembered that he travelled the country on a teetotal lecture tour, recommending his temperance manifesto in 1840, but stopped his active promotion of Teetotal Chartism after opposition in July 1841. Harrison suggests that because of his political stance he was more of an embarrassment than an asset to the temperance movement.²⁹⁸ Only one reference to Vincent speaking in Lincoln has been found, at the Lincoln teetotal anniversary in 1849. The view expressed in a local newspaper corroborates Harrison’s opinion, revealing the damage that could be inflicted by chartist support. Temperance was said to be;

[...] fast losing all respect, by engaging a list of revolutionary mountebanks who spout the most disgusting falsehoods of their opponents; abuse and insult the Aristocracy, the Church and all our National Institutions, and in fact, substitute political phrenzy for the gin bottle.²⁹⁹

Henry Winn was impressed by Vincent’s ‘force and eloquence’ during his temperance address in Horncastle, October 1846, (despite admitting that he spoke better on political subjects). His diary provides a useful outline of Vincent’s temperance address. Firstly, Vincent stated the baneful domestic condition of the people. Then he detailed the history of the temperance reformation, what it had accomplished and what remained to be done. He then appealed to the youth of both sexes and reiterated the power of the people to raise themselves up. Vincent received £2 for each of his three lectures, the fourth being given free. £15 was made on admissions, proving that he was a good crowd-puller.³⁰⁰

Conclusion

Lincoln, despite its predominance of breweries and relatively small, provincial nature, was by no means negligent when it came to promoting temperance. The Lincoln temperance movement began in 1833 and was characterised by a succession of temperance societies of intermittent function, which mirrored the progress nationwide. When zealous, energetic people took the reins the cause advanced in a lively manner, only to slow down as the workers tired or disappeared. The dissenting churches provided the most help, but there seems to have been a mixture of protagonists and supporters. Audiences were mainly middle class in the beginning, but the workers became involved from the 1840s.

Visiting speakers, the most proficient of whom managed to galvanise considerable support, pulled large crowds and popularised the cause. Opposition was present, but the drink sellers never seem to have made much impact on the city, at least not in an organised manner. The municipal council was never strongly anti-drink, and so it was impossible to adopt measures such as the 1864 Early Closing Act. (The necessary two thirds majority was not obtained after a vote on the issue on February 14 1870. Eight of the seventeen members present voted against adoption).³⁰¹

The police force, hindered initially by a lack of men, seems to have done its best to apprehend drink-related offenders, both drink sellers and members of the public, although a blind eye was sometimes turned towards public drunkenness. The magistrates attempted to keep a fairly tight control over licensing hours, although drunkenness inevitably occurred and was often highlighted by the newspapers.

Lincoln's population, although increasing, was insufficient to proportion the dire social problems found in the large industrial cities of Manchester and such like. Problems

of unemployment, housing, water supply and sewerage were evident, but not on a vast scale. Poverty-induced drink abuse, whilst existent, was not overpowering.

Lincoln did not offer many recreational alternatives to the public house during the period under study. One theatre, a variety of reading rooms, working men's clubs and other societies offered the only substitutions. Many of these would not have appealed to the working classes. Methodism was very strong in Lincolnshire, and it is no surprise to see that Lincoln's many Methodists, apart from their contribution to the temperance cause, also found support and recreational opportunities through their churches. The established church, especially through the auspices of Bishop Wordsworth, delayed its valuable contribution to temperance in Lincoln until after 1872.

Reference Notes

Chapter 6 Temperance in Lincoln 1830-72

¹ *Lincoln Trade Directory* 1826, p. 48.

² Hill: 1933, p. 34.

³ Hill: 1974, p. 81.

⁴ *Lincolnshire Press Cuttings* vol. IX, p. 163; Leigh: 1820, p. 293; Hill: 1974, pp. 81 & 103; Olney: 1979, p. 62.

⁵ Brownlow was very powerful in local nineteenth-century government affairs.

⁶ Olney: 1979, pp. 1 & 22. For more information on the leading nineteenth-century Lincolnshire families see pp. 22-42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 83 & 92-4.

⁸ Quoted in Hill: 1974, p. 90.

⁹ Olney: 1979, p. 71.

¹⁰ For details of the county representatives in parliament see Olney: 1979, pp. 145-65.

¹¹ Olney: 1979, pp. 10 & 104.

¹² *Lincolnshire County Handbook*: 1973, p. 21.

¹³ Hill: 1974, p. 103.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-3.

¹⁵ The farmers used large quantities of artificial manure ? guano and bones.

¹⁶ *The Lincoln Commercial Directory & Private Residence Guide 1843*: p. 11. Henceforward *The Lincoln Commercial Directory* 1843.

¹⁷ *White's Directory of Lincolnshire 1856*: p. 106. Henceforward *White's 1856*.

¹⁸ Hill: 1974, p. 45.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁰ For a detailed account of the complex battle of interests between supporters of various routes see Hill: 1974, pp. 103-116. The *Lincoln Chronicle* and *Stamford Mercury* also offer a fascinating account of the manoeuvrings of the various interested parties throughout the complicated decision-making processes.

²¹ Hill: 1974, p. 114 and *White's 1856*: pp. 106-7. An interesting feature that still exists today is the crossing of High Street by the train lines. This occasions the periodic stopping of road traffic. Originally, there were

two stations, one on each side of the street, serving different destinations. Only the original Great Northern Station remains today.

²² In 2001, Lincoln's population was 170,000, and rising. 17 million people live within a 100 mile radius, (www.Lincoln-info.org.uk/index.htm).

²³ Hill: 1974, p. 126.

²⁴ Hill: 1933, p. 11; *SM*: Sept. 27 1833. A freeman's right to vote for a member of parliament was abolished by the Representation of the People Act, 1918.

²⁵ The county of the city was separated from the body of the county of Lincoln by letters patent in 1465.

²⁶ Hill: 1933, p. 11.

²⁷ *The Lincoln Commercial Directory 1843*: p. 12.

²⁸ Hill: 1974, p. 38. For details of the 1835 changes and how they affected Lincoln, see Hill: 1974, pp. 38-62.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

³⁰ For example, on St. Thomas' Day, governors, master and boys of the Bluecoat School breakfasted with the mayor before attending church, and lunched on buns and spiced ale, (Hill: 1933, p. 14).

³¹ *British Directory of Trade, Commerce & Manufacture vol. III*, c. 1794, p. 557. The most corrupt election was said to be that of 1754, when some freemen received as much as 20 guineas for their votes, (Green: 1974, p. 148).

³² *The Lincoln Commercial Directory 1843*: p. 12.

³³ Hill: 1933, pp. 15 & 27 and *Lincoln Commercial Directory 1843*: pp. 12-4. For details of schools in Lincoln from 1830-72 see Hill: 1974, pp. 140-6.

³⁴ See *SM*: Jan. 3 1834, p. 4 for the rules of the Mechanics' Institute. The minutes are in LCL ref. MS 5108-13.

³⁵ For example, on July 13 1849 the *Stamford Mercury* reported a large temperance rally of approximately 10,000 people on the Earl of Yarborough's estate at Thornton Abbey.

³⁶ *Scrapbook of Colonel Williams*: 1900, p. 171.

³⁷ *SM*: Jan. 3 1834.

³⁸ *LC*: July 10 & Aug. 14 1840.

³⁹ Hill: 1974, p. 147.

⁴⁰ *SM*: July 4 1834, p. 3.

⁴¹ *LC*: May 3 1844.

⁴² *LC*: Dec. 12 1856.

⁴³ *LC*: Oct. 2 1857.

⁴⁴ *The British and Foreign Temperance Herald*: 1833, p. 134; Quoted in Hill: 1974, p. 147.

⁴⁵ For details see Hill: 1974, p. 150.

⁴⁶ *Hagar & Company's Commercial Directory*: 1849, p. 30 & *White's 1856*: p. 96.

⁴⁷ *White & Co*: 1826, pp. 42-3.

⁴⁸ *Lincoln Commercial Directory 1843*: p. 17.

⁴⁹ Now, The Rechabite Friendly Society.

⁵⁰ Olney: 1979, pp. 94 & 177; Obelkevich: 1976, pp. 87-90.

⁵¹ Hill: 1974, pp. 154-5 & 299.

⁵² *SM*: March 22 1833; Hill: 1974, p. 151.

⁵³ No page numbers.

⁵⁴ Hill: 1966, p. 286.

⁵⁵ *SM*: Sept. 26 1834, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Olney gives its inception as 1789, (Olney: 1979, p. 13).

⁵⁷ *Lincolnshire Press Cuttings vol. I*, p. 53.

⁵⁸ Olney: 1979, pp. 91 & 19.

⁵⁹ Obelkevich: 1976, p. 83.

⁶⁰ There was a bullring near the Jew's House, on Steep Hill, (Green: 1974, p. 126).

⁶¹ See Obelkevich: 1976, pp. 212-3 for Methodism as entertainment.

⁶² Olney: 1979, p. 72.

⁶³ Quoted in Hill: 1974, p. 142.

⁶⁴ For the expansion in housing construction and problems related to corporate ownership of large areas by Lincoln Corporation or the dean and chapter see Hill: 1974, pp. 127-9. For corporation procrastination concerning the sewerage and other sanitary problems, see pp. 156-71.

⁶⁵ Olney: 1979, p. 132.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133. For the working of the Lincoln Union see Hill: 1974, pp. 132-7.

⁶⁷ Hill: 1933, p. 38; *White's 1856*: p. 104.

⁶⁸ *Lincolnshire Press Cuttings vol IV*, p. 46.

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- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ⁷⁰ *LC*: May 17 1844.
- ⁷¹ *White's 1856*: p. 104.
- ⁷² Hill: 1933, pp 36-8.
- ⁷³ *White's 1856*: p. 105.
- ⁷⁴ *Lincolnshire Press Cuttings vol. IV*, pp. 27-8 & p. 32.
- ⁷⁵ See *Lincolnshire Press Cuttings vol. IV*, p. 46 for a report of one disorderly public meeting called to discuss the sanitary problem. Also, for details of the lengthy process leading up to the building of the new sewerage system see Hill: 1974, pp. 160-71.
- ⁷⁶ Details taken from the City Directories of the years in question.
- ⁷⁷ Exley's *Lincoln Inns*, vols. 1-4 provides details of an amazing number of Lincoln inns from the earliest times. See also Green: 1974, pp. 124-7 for details of some of the oldest inns and 'hostelries' in Lincoln.
- ⁷⁸ Exley: n.d.; p. 55.
- ⁷⁹ *LC*: July 14 1854.
- ⁸⁰ Hill: 1974, p. 6.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- ⁸² *Morris & Co.'s Commercial Directory & Gazetteer of Lincolnshire*: 1868, p. 3.
- ⁸³ *SM*: Jan. 11 1867. For details of these influential men see Hill: 1974, pp. 121-3.
- ⁸⁴ *Scrapbook of Colonel Williams*: 1900, p. 171.
- ⁸⁵ Hill: 1974, p. 120.
- ⁸⁶ *White's 1856*: p. 106.
- ⁸⁷ *The Lincoln Commercial Directory 1843*: p. 11.
- ⁸⁸ 'Progress in the World of Wheels' in *Supplement to the "Lincolnshire Chronicle and Leader"*: April 1933, pp. 44-6 and Hill: 1974, pp. 118-25.
- ⁸⁹ Robinson: 1978, p. 6.
- ⁹⁰ Exley: n.d., vol. 4, p. 65.
- ⁹¹ See the commercial directories for the relevant years.
- ⁹² *LC*: Jan. 4 1861.
- ⁹³ *LC*: Aug. 23 1844.
- ⁹⁴ *LC*: Aug. 2 1844.
- ⁹⁵ *SM*: June 29 1849; *LC & SM*: Jan. 10 1845.
- ⁹⁶ *SM*: Nov. 24, Dec. 15 & 29 1871. For details of the protection societies established by the trade see Gutzke: 1989, pp. 60-98.
- ⁹⁷ Details are from the relevant commercial directories.
- ⁹⁸ *LC*: Sept. 9 1859.
- ⁹⁹ pp. 255-6; White & Co: 1826, p. 57.
- ¹⁰⁰ Hill: 1974, p. 118.
- ¹⁰¹ *SM*: May 24 1867; Nov. 5 1869.
- ¹⁰² Robinson: 1978, pp. 10-15.
- ¹⁰³ *SM*: April 23 1858.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Supplement to the "Lincolnshire Chronicle and Leader"*: April 1933, p. 60.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Id. ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ Hill: 1974, p. 118.
- ¹⁰⁷ His brother Robert was a Lincoln wine and spirit merchant.
- ¹⁰⁸ *LC*: Aug. 17 1860.
- ¹⁰⁹ £¼m had been inherited from his brother, who died intestate, (W. Dawber's *Scrapbook*, in LCL).
- ¹¹⁰ Nov. 24 1904, quoted in W. Dawber's *Scrapbook*.
- ¹¹¹ Details for publicans and beer sellers are not known.
- ¹¹² George Fieschi Heneage supported civil and religious liberty, and was a protectionist. Sibthorp stressed his independence from ministers and government, (*City of Lincoln Poll Book 1852*). Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton defended the corn laws and was a Radical who later stood as a Conservative for Hertfordshire in 1852, (Hill: 1974, pp. 17 & 29).
- ¹¹³ *Lincoln Poll Book 1832*. This was the only time in Sibthorp's long public life that he was defeated. He regained his seat at the next general election in 1835.
- ¹¹⁴ John Rudgard was mayor in 1836, his brother William in 1839; Burns: 1889a, p. 262.
- ¹¹⁵ *Lincoln Poll Book 1835*.
- ¹¹⁶ The Radical Seely was a free trader and supported electoral reform, the secret ballot, three-year parliaments and a more equal representation of electoral districts, (*Lincoln Poll Book 1852*).
- ¹¹⁷ See the 1847 *Lincoln Poll Book* for addresses and lampoons concerning all four candidates.

- ¹¹⁸ Hobhouse was in favour of the secret ballot and Corn Law repeal. Humphrey was against the secret ballot, and wanted the people to be educated before extending the suffrage 'as wide as possible'. He was willing to give free trade a 'fair trial' but was convinced it would fail. Unemployment would rise in Lincoln, the people having no money to buy cheap bread, (*Lincoln Poll Book* for the March 15 1848 election).
- ¹¹⁹ *Lincoln Poll Books 1847 and 1848*. It was claimed that Rudgard had Seely ousted so that his candidate Lytton could replace him in an uncontested election. Humphrey decided to stand, and so Lytton withdrew before the nomination, leaving Humphrey to stand against Hobhouse. Lytton's supporters were asked to vote for Hobhouse, (*Lincoln Poll Book 1848*).
- ¹²⁰ *Lincolnshire Press Cuttings vol IV*, p. 22; *LC*: Oct. 7 1859.
- ¹²¹ Luke Trotter, John Rudgard, J. K. Keyworth, William Rudgard and William Norton contributed up to £3 each in 1833. Northouse resigned in May 1834, being too busy to continue as secretary.
- ¹²² *SM*: April 5 1833.
- ¹²³ *SM*: Feb. 14 1834.
- ¹²⁴ Philips: 1977, p. 54; Parry: 1993, p. 122.
- ¹²⁵ Hill: 1974, pp. 58-9.
- ¹²⁶ *White's 1856*: p. 111.
- ¹²⁷ *SM*: June 22 1849 & *LC*: Aug. 24 1849.
- ¹²⁸ It is interesting to note that theft, however small, was not considered in the same light. The arrest and four days' imprisonment of three boys for stealing cherries from a garden might be considered excessively zealous, even in 1834, (*SM*: July 4 1834).
- ¹²⁹ Philips: 1977, p. 84.
- ¹³⁰ *SM*: April 7 1865.
- ¹³¹ *SM*: April 8 1853.
- ¹³² *LC*: April 19 1850.
- ¹³³ *SM*: Dec. 2 1864.
- ¹³⁴ *SM*: Oct. 14 1870; Parry: 1993, p. 241.
- ¹³⁵ Gray: 1993, p. 87.
- ¹³⁶ *SM*: May 16 1834.
- ¹³⁷ *LC*: March 8 1861.
- ¹³⁸ *LC*: May 8 1855.
- ¹³⁹ *SM*: Sept. 7 1866.
- ¹⁴⁰ All the police cases cited above are in the *City of Lincoln Summons Book* for the relevant dates (LAO ref. Constab. 2/1/6/4/1).
- ¹⁴¹ *LC*: Sept. 4 1857.
- ¹⁴² *Commercial Directories* for 1855, 1849 & 1863.
- ¹⁴³ Lincoln (Lindsey) Petty Sessions alehouse licences (lists) 1833-57, in LAO ref. LNPS 1/34.
- ¹⁴⁴ *SM*: Aug. 23 & Sept. 13 1872.
- ¹⁴⁵ Burns: 1889a, p. 79.
- ¹⁴⁶ *LC*: July 27 & Sept. 28 1860.
- ¹⁴⁷ *LC*: Sept. 13 1844.
- ¹⁴⁸ *LC* & *SM*: Sept. 9 1842; *LC*: Oct. 7 1842.
- ¹⁴⁹ *SM*: Sept. 4 1857; Burns: 1889a, p. 407.
- ¹⁵⁰ *White and Co*: 1826, pp. 38-40.
- ¹⁵¹ *Supplement to the "Lincolnshire Chronicle and Leader"*: April 1933, p. 42.
- ¹⁵² According to the City Directory, there were no Quakers resident in Lincoln in 1856, the Meeting House being used solely for quarterly meetings, (*White's 1856*: p. 89).
- ¹⁵³ *White's 1856*: pp. 86-90.
- ¹⁵⁴ *SM*: April 2 1847. He was appointed secretary to the British and Foreign Bible Society around November 1853, (*LC*: Nov. 18 1853).
- ¹⁵⁵ *LC*: June 26 1840.
- ¹⁵⁶ *SM*: Oct. 4 1844 & Aug. 18 1848; *Supplement to the "Lincolnshire Chronicle and Leader"*: 1933, p. 42; Barker: 1860, p. 42; Hill: 1974, p. 139.
- ¹⁵⁷ He was also the Financial Secretary of Lincoln & Lincolnshire Penitent Females Home, (*The City of Lincoln Directory 1867*).
- ¹⁵⁸ *SM*: April 18 1851 & July 30 1852.
- ¹⁵⁹ *SM*: May 25 1849. Hood was the composer of many popular temperance melodies. He lectured and sang 'with the liveliest effect', (Burns: 1889a, p. 247). See Barrass: 1851, pp. 114-29 for more biographical details of Hood.
- ¹⁶⁰ *SM*: Feb. 3 1843; for biographical details of Addleshaw see Couling: 1862, pp. 265-6.

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- ¹⁶¹ *The Alliance*: Feb. 5 1859.
- ¹⁶² Ambler: 2000, p. 169.
- ¹⁶³ Ambler: 1989, p. 80.
- ¹⁶⁴ *The National Temperance Advocate*, June 1848, special edition.
- ¹⁶⁵ Wordsworth: 1873, p. 6.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- ¹⁶⁹ Randles, M., *Pledged Abstinence; A Reply to the Bishop of Lincoln's Sermon "On Temperance Societies"*, 1873.
- ¹⁷⁰ It had 102 members in March 1834.
- ¹⁷¹ *SM*: March 7 1834.
- ¹⁷² The loss of intoxicating properties through cooking was not known to them, although drunkenness via brandy puddings was obviously unheard of!
- ¹⁷³ *LC*: Aug. 23 1833.
- ¹⁷⁴ *The British and Foreign Temperance Herald*: Oct. 1833, pp. 133-4.
- ¹⁷⁵ Hill: 1974, p. 139.
- ¹⁷⁶ *SM*: Sept. 13 1833.
- ¹⁷⁷ Burns: 1889a, p. 72.
- ¹⁷⁸ *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. VI, no. 67, June 1841, p. 96; See Couling: 1862, pp. 45-6 for the long list of patrons.
- ¹⁷⁹ *SM*: Sept. 20 1833.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Id. ibid.*, During 1833, medical testimony was also published in York, Nottingham and Derby, cities not too distant from Lincoln, (Burns: 1889a, p. 72).
- ¹⁸¹ Most of them in Lincoln, for there were 116 members there in December 1833, as already noted.
- ¹⁸² Harrison: 1994, p. 105.
- ¹⁸³ For details see Hill: 1974, pp. 71-2.
- ¹⁸⁴ *SM*: Dec. 13 1844.
- ¹⁸⁵ Northouse was founder of the liberal *Lincoln Gazette* in 1835, (Hill: 1974, p. 9).
- ¹⁸⁶ *SM*: May 31 & Nov. 8 1833; Hill: 1974, p. 148.
- ¹⁸⁷ *White and Co*: 1826, p. 39; *SM*: Nov. 17 1871.
- ¹⁸⁸ *LC*: July 26 1844.
- ¹⁸⁹ His lecture topic was his trip to Egypt (six lectures given), but he gave the extra temperance lecture as a grand finale. He produced 'the strongest apparent convictions in the minds of the auditors', and was frequently interrupted with loud cheers, (*SM*: Sept. 26 1834).
- ¹⁹⁰ Harrison: 1994, pp. 108-9. The B.F.T.S. ceased operations in 1848.
- ¹⁹¹ *LC*: Jan. 5 1838. The alarm was mirrored by the Portuguese wine growers' outcry in 2002 at the reduction in the permissible driver's alcohol levels, which they expected would lead to decreased wine consumption and consequent adverse financial effects. The reduction was later annulled by the government.
- ¹⁹² *The British Temperance Advocate and Journal*, vol. I, 1839, p. 86.
- ¹⁹³ 'Reasons for not supporting total abstinence societies as at present constituted', *The Temperance Penny Magazine*, vol. V, no. 59, Oct. 1840, pp. 154-7.
- ¹⁹⁴ p. 156.
- ¹⁹⁵ *LC* & *SM*: April 20 1838.
- ¹⁹⁶ For example, F. Cresswell, the 'Manchester Carpenter' spoke on December 22 1837, (*LC*: Dec. 29 1837); *SM*: Oct. 13 1837.
- ¹⁹⁷ Chapter 2.3 stated the mistaken fear held by some church and non-church individuals alike that the temperance pledge intended to replace the baptismal vow. Temperance was thereby tainted. The extreme anti-church views sometimes heard on the teetotal platform from some of the radical teetotal advocates facilitated the linking of temperance to atheism and such like (see chapter 3). Unpatriotic sentiments were attributed by some to the teetotal advocates, for it was believed that they attacked the national beverage. Also, it was thought a decline in the consumption of beer would adversely affect barley consumption, causing problems for some farmers.
- ¹⁹⁸ *LC*: March 16 1838. See also Sept. 21 1838 when a teetotal lecturer is ridiculed.
- ¹⁹⁹ *LC*: March 25 1842.
- ²⁰⁰ *LC*: Feb. 3 1843.
- ²⁰¹ *LC*: April 28 1848.
- ²⁰² *LC*: May 24 1839.
- ²⁰³ *SM*: Nov. 1 1839.

- ²⁰⁴ For a very brief sketch of temperance activity from 1872 to 1900 see Robinson: 1978, pp. 17-8.
- ²⁰⁵ No. 8, Dec. 1 1840, pp. 29-30, (in AH).
- ²⁰⁶ *SM*: April 24 1840.
- ²⁰⁷ See chapter 3, p. 205 for Father Matthew and the 'public mania' he created for teetotalism in Ireland by December 1839.
- ²⁰⁸ *Temperance Journal*, vol. II, no. 17, April 25 1840, p. 133.
- ²⁰⁹ *Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. IV, March 7 1840, p. 76.
- ²¹⁰ Vol. V, pp. 135-6.
- ²¹¹ See *LC*: Oct. 30 1840 for his full argument, and also his biting remarks against Wesley. See Couling: 1862, pp. 286-7 for biographical details.
- ²¹² *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. IV, July 4 1840, p. 211 & Sept. 5 1840, p. 287. Henceforth *Temperance Intelligencer*.
- ²¹³ *LC & SM*: April 9 1841.
- ²¹⁴ *Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. V, 1841, p. 135.
- ²¹⁵ *SM*: April 16 1841. See also *Temperance Intelligencer*, vol. V, 1841, pp. 135-6.
- ²¹⁶ For example see *LC*: July 13 1849 for reference to 'the neutral position of the Christian world [...]' and Harrison: 1994, p. 169-71.
- ²¹⁷ *SM*: Nov 5 1841. Smeeton had been a drunkard when young, but converted to teetotalism and became a minister in Ipswich. He returned to drink, and wrote a polemical pamphlet 'Confessions of a convert from Teetotalism to Temperance'. He was convicted of embezzlement in 1850 and joined the Civil Corps attached to the army in the Crimea. He contracted cholera there and died, (Burns: 1889a, p. 317).
- ²¹⁸ Hayler: 1953, p. 153.
- ²¹⁹ Winskill: 1891, p. 250.
- ²²⁰ *National Temperance Advocate*, vol. I, new series, 1844-5, p. 81.
- ²²¹ *LC & SM*: June 7 1844.
- ²²² *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, Jan. 18 1845, p. 23.
- ²²³ Burns: 1889a, p. 246; *SM*: Nov. 29 & Dec. 6 1844, March 28 1845; *LC*: Nov. 29 1844.
- ²²⁴ *LC*: Feb. 7 1845; *SM*: Jan. 31 1845.
- ²²⁵ *National Temperance Advocate*, vol. I, new series, 1844-5, p. 81.
- ²²⁶ Burns: 1889a, p. 258.
- ²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- ²²⁸ *SM*: June 15 1849.
- ²²⁹ The Rev E. R. Larken of Burton had donated some books, and more were promised by Dr Charlesworth of Lincoln.
- ²³⁰ Quoted in Russell: 1987, p. 16.
- ²³¹ Burns: 1889a, p. 183; *SM*: April 17 1846.
- ²³² *SM*: Aug. 20 1847.
- ²³³ *SM*: Sept. 18 1846; Burns: 1889a, p. 234. For biographical details of Mason see Barrass: 1851, pp. 194-212.
- ²³⁴ Drury: 1841, (no page no.); *LC & SM*: July 25 1845.
- ²³⁵ Campbell: 1911, p. 219-22.
- ²³⁶ Russell: 1987, p. 25a. The union was founded in 1840 and engaged 'an active and zealous' advocate from the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, (*Temperance Journal*, vol. II, no. 41, Oct. 10 1840).
- ²³⁷ The society's 12th report shows the zealous efforts of the newly appointed Town Missionary (Shaw), who made more than 4,000 visits in eight months, obtaining 700 pledges during 1848. Several signatories had begun attending church, a source of satisfaction to the Rev. Holt which shows the bond between religion and temperance that could be forged, (*The Rechabite Magazine*, vol. IV, no. 25, Jan. 1849, p. 14).
- ²³⁸ Winn: 1845, p. 58; See Russell: 1987, pp. 35-43 for further biographical details.
- ²³⁹ *SM*: Sept. 18 1846.
- ²⁴⁰ *The London and Lincolnshire Mirror of Tee-Totalism*, vol. I, Oct. 1 1840, p. 97.
- ²⁴¹ Alderman Noble, (probably John Noble, agent of the BTL, mayor of Boston and magistrate for many years — a 'leading spirit in most of its benevolent enterprises'), Rev T. W. Matthews of Boston, W. Skelton, John Norton and James Johnson were also active supporters, (*The British Temperance Advocate*, Oct. 1 1866, p. 386; Burns: 1889a, p. 362); *The National Temperance Chronicle*, vol. I, 1851-2, pp. 258 & 273. See *The National Temperance Chronicle*, vol. II, p. 143 for a report of the second anniversary at Gainsborough.
- ²⁴² *LC*: Jan. 28 & Feb. 25 1848.
- ²⁴³ *The British Temperance Advocate*, vol. XX, 1853, p. 106 & vol. XXI, 1854, p. 142.
- ²⁴⁴ *SM*: July 6 1849; *LC*: July 13 1849; *SM*: March 29 1850; Burns: 1889a, p. 314. See *The National Temperance Advocate*, vol. V, new series, 1849, p. 85 for a full report of the conference.

- ²⁴⁵ Abraham Lincoln and the Hon. Neal Dow were two illustrious Sons of Temperance. The pledge was: I will neither make, buy, sell nor use as a beverage, any spiritous or malt liquors, wine or cider. (www.sonsoftemperance.co.uk).
- ²⁴⁶ www.sonsoftemperance.co.uk; Burns: 1889a, p. 443; *ibid.*, p. 340; *LC*: April 18 & May 9 1851.
- ²⁴⁷ *Lincoln Temperance Society Report*: 1857, p. 2. Henceforward *Report*.
- ²⁴⁸ *Report*: 1857, p. 4; May 21 1859.
- ²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ²⁵⁰ *Rules of the Lincoln Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society*, July 25 1850, in LCL unbound pamphlets UP479; *SM*: Feb. 27 1852; *The Alliance*: Feb. 24 1855; *SM*: April 14 1871.
- ²⁵¹ *Scrapbook of Col. Williams*: 1900, p. 171.
- ²⁵² It is assumed that the only Thomas Parker in the 1863 Lincoln Trade Directory, a joiner, was the Temperance Society's secretary.
- ²⁵³ *Alliance Weekly News*: July 9 1859; *The Alliance*: Feb. 5 1859; *LC*: Dec. 24 1858.
- ²⁵⁴ *SM* & *LC*: Dec. 21 1855.
- ²⁵⁵ *LC*: July 24 1857.
- ²⁵⁶ *Alliance Weekly News*: June 21, 1860; *LC*: Nov. 24 1859. Lomax was a tireless agent, travelling 5,000 miles in 1844, delivering 250 lectures and obtaining 4,000 signatures for the suppression of drink sales on Sundays, (Burns: 1889a, p. 245).
- ²⁵⁷ *SM*: Dec. 2 1859.
- ²⁵⁸ *SM*: Sept. 21 1866.
- ²⁵⁹ *Id. ibid.*; *SM*: Dec. 21 1866.
- ²⁶⁰ *SM*: Feb. 15 1867.
- ²⁶¹ The president in 1870 was the Rev. J. Cookson, treasurer Hugh Wyatt and secretary Richard Grose. Annual expenditure was £100. They met weekly, (*The British Temperance League Register*: 1870, p. 63).
- ²⁶² *SM*: March 15 1867; *SM*: March 20, Nov. 6 & Dec. 25 1868; *SM*: Jan. 29 1869.
- ²⁶³ *SM*: April 6 & May 7 1869.
- ²⁶⁴ *SM*: Feb. 11 1870.
- ²⁶⁵ *SM*: July 8, 15, 22, Aug. 12 & 26, Sept. 16, 23 & 30, Oct. 14, Nov. 4 & 25 1870; *SM*: April 7 1871.
- ²⁶⁶ *SM*: April 14 & Sept. 15 1871.
- ²⁶⁷ Rutherford: 1998, p. 2; *I.O.G.T. Journals*: 1870-4, p. 20; Burns: 1897, p. 47; *SM*: Nov. 10 1871; *SM* Feb. 9, March 8, May 10 & Dec. 27 1872.
- ²⁶⁸ *SM*: March 4 1870. CASSILS was established in 1866.
- ²⁶⁹ *SM*: April 16 1852.
- ²⁷⁰ The first reference to America's 1851 Maine Law was made in Lincoln by Bulman at the Temperance Society's 1852 anniversary meeting.
- ²⁷¹ *LC* & *SM*: Sept 1 1854.
- ²⁷² Obelkevich: 1976, pp. 253-4.
- ²⁷³ *Rules*: 1855.
- ²⁷⁴ This illustrated publication was started in 1851, (Burns: 1897, p. 114).
- ²⁷⁵ *Scrapbook of Colonel Williams*: 1900, p. 171; *LC*: Nov. 21 1856.
- ²⁷⁶ *SM* & *LC*: July 11 1862.
- ²⁷⁷ Obelkevich: 1976, p. 229.
- ²⁷⁸ *SM*: June 24 1870.
- ²⁷⁹ *LC*: April 28 1859.
- ²⁸⁰ *SM*: March 23 1860.
- ²⁸¹ *SM*: April 17 1868. Wood won £100 from the Scottish Temperance League in 1860 for her tale, which acquired an unprecedented circulation in temperance circles, (Burns: 1889a, p. 446).
- ²⁸² *SM*: Jan. 3 1868.
- ²⁸³ *LC*: July 13 1849; for biographical details of Sturge see Couling: 1862, p. 353.
- ²⁸⁴ *SM*: Aug. 26 1853; *SM*: July 16 & Aug. 27 1869; *White's 1856*: p. 102.
- ²⁸⁵ *LC*: Oct. 18 1844 & March 7 1845.
- ²⁸⁶ *LC*: Oct. 11 1839.
- ²⁸⁷ *SM* & *LC*: Oct. 11 1844.
- ²⁸⁸ Hill: 1974, p. 139.
- ²⁸⁹ *SM*: April 2 & 20 1847.
- ²⁹⁰ *National Temperance Advocate*, vol. I, new series, 1844-5, p. 190.
- ²⁹¹ *SM*: April 16 1852.
- ²⁹² *SM*: March 12 1869.
- ²⁹³ *SM*: Sept. 17 1869.

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- ²⁹⁴ *SM*: June 8 1870.
- ²⁹⁵ *SM*: Sept. 1 & 8 1871; August 30 1872.
- ²⁹⁶ Elvin: 1974, n.p.
- ²⁹⁷ Dec. 10 1847.
- ²⁹⁸ Harrison: 1998, p. 219.
- ²⁹⁹ *Boston, Stamford and Lincolnshire Herald*, April 10 1849, quoted in Ambler: 1989, p. 80.
- ³⁰⁰ Winn: 1845, pp. 175-7.
- ³⁰¹ *Minutes of Lincoln Council*: Feb. 14 1870, ref. L1/1/1/11, (in LAO).

CONCLUSION

The conclusions to be drawn from this research belong to two separate categories. The first concerns Lincoln and the second the temperance movement as a whole.

Lincoln

Lincoln's successive temperance societies followed the national pattern. Initially, in 1833, mainly middle class temperance enthusiasts, supported by the local newspapers, were led by the aristocratic Baronet Bromhead and aided by members of the Church of England and one dissenting minister. Early steps were cautious, the pledge only forbidding personal spirits consumption. From the second Temperance Society in 1837, teetotallers were prominent and the dissenters played a more important role, helping both personally and by providing venues for meetings. Bishop Wordsworth retarded support later on from the established church, as can be seen by his sermon/pamphlet *On Temperance Societies*, 1873. A small number of active, local individuals like Charles Akrill were responsible for keeping the temperance flame alight. The festivals from the 1850s were enjoyed by the working classes, although there seems to have been a predominance of the middle class at meetings and lectures. This was not typical of the movement nationally at this time, although obviously it is difficult to generalise. In the 1850s and 60s, Lincoln followed the national trend by establishing Bands of Hope for the children. In addition, the Temperance Society supported the United Kingdom Alliance and worked for prohibition/local option. Different temperance organisations established branches in Lincoln. The Oddfellows, the Independent Order of Rechabites, and the International Order of Good Templars are three examples. Lincoln, although relatively isolated, was not forgotten by the national bodies.

Opposition to the successive temperance societies that were established was not violent or excessive, as may have been expected given the strong brewing interest and the large number of drink-selling places. The local newspapers did not report great disturbances during temperance meetings, although minor protest was naturally expressed. The relatively small population, as compared to the large industrial cities, may have contributed to this. Where anonymity could not cloak offensive behaviour, and where the important local people were relatively well known, covert rather than overt opposition was probably preferable. The local drink interest was wise not to interfere with the temperance societies, and there is little evidence that they tried to harm their interests directly between 1830-72. A Licensed Victuallers' Defence Association for Lincoln and Lincolnshire was not established until November 1871.

Lincoln was quite a peaceful town from 1830-72, and the small police force appears to have tackled drink-related crime according to the advice of the magistrates. Periods of leniency were thus interspersed with a more rigorous control of offenders. This was in line with the national ebb and flow of government thinking on drink-related crime. It is for this reason that early crime statistics are so unreliable as a guide to drink abuse levels. However, drunkenness and drink-related crime were not significant features of Lincoln crime.

As an important trading centre holding numerous weekly markets and fairs, Lincoln had a large number of inns and other drinking places. They also increased in number as the population grew, although the magistrates appear to have exercised caution when awarding licences. Licence violation was not tolerated.

The temperance movement

According to F. W. Newman, the temperance movement's limitations stemmed largely from 'the position, culture, and means of those by whom it was chiefly carried on'. The comment was made in the prohibitionist *Alliance Weekly News*¹, and is perfectly apt whether applied to the early anti-spirits, the radical teetotal, or the prohibitionist phase of the movement. The chief protagonists differed in terms of position, culture and means, but they were all unable to globalise the movement and make it attractive to all, in short to democratise it.

The anti-spirits movement was composed mainly of the middle and upper classes, and adopted a paternalistic stance. Clerics were evident, for the *sin* of drunkenness was underlined. Prevention was highlighted, and attempts to reclaim drunkards, especially working class ones, were limited. The position and culture of the early anti-spirits advocates, coupled with their reluctance to combat drunkenness 'face-to face', inevitably resulted in a general failure to capture the enthusiasm and support of the working classes. By relying on lectures, local auxiliary societies linked to a London-based centre, high-blown patrons who worked little, and because of under-funding, the movement was never going to become truly national. However, its merit lies in awakening people to the problems caused by drink abuse, and engendering public discussion of causes, consequences and remedies.

The subsequent teetotal movement was a radicalised version of its predecessor. Moderate drinkers were immediately alienated by the teetotallers' outspoken opposition. Mainly working class in composition, and having a decided lack of official church support, their position and culture alienated many from the upper echelons of society. Their sensationalism and theatrical lectures often featured reformed drunkards either as orator or prop. The ensuing 'entertainment' was less to the taste of the refined upper classes. Strong,

blunt language could also offend delicate ears, as could the content of lectures. Although the N.T.L tried to appeal to all classes through diversified lecturers, the results were not convincing and there seems to have been relatively little genuine mixing of classes. Some teetotallers were accused of proclaiming anti-Christian sentiments, which alienated many people.

Personal visits to drinkers' homes were an important tactic for winning support, but one that could only be effectively used on the poor. The other means used, namely petitions to parliament, medical and clerical declarations, high quality foreign speakers, public processions and tea meetings, journals and pamphlets, were effective to a limited degree. Parliament was constantly inundated with petitions, and their effect must have been dulled with time. Doubts arose as to their true value, since both sides of a question could produce signatories on their behalf. Processions and tea meetings served to reinforce the resolve of the abstainers as much as to augment recruitment. As for journals and pamphlets, thousands were printed but how many were read? The flyer handed out in the street does not usually convert the reader. Those who paid for temperance journals were already sympathetic, while the free copies would have had a less enthusiastic reception. Nevertheless, they were the chief means of media propaganda available, and as such would surely have affected opinion to a small degree.

The prohibitionists encompassed all social classes, but relied on the middle and upper for lecturers and organisers. They counted on generalised support from moral suasionists initially, but were hampered by the subsequent opposition of well known leaders like Joseph Livesey, who voiced doubts as to Alliance policy. This was the case when the Alliance changed from pursuing a Maine Law, i.e. total prohibition nationwide, to local prohibition through permissive legislation. Also, by accepting moderate drinkers as members, they alienated the total abstainers. The use of prize essays and more refined

arguments in support of prohibition, (see Frederic Lees for example), was no doubt welcome to the middle and upper classes. However, the introduction of professional, educated lecturers was not as appealing to the working classes. Coupled with a reduction in home visits, this policy inevitably led to a fall in the appeal of temperance for them.

Appraisal

It is easy to point the finger and decry the temperance movement: after all, neither prohibition nor direct local veto has been achieved, the former having disappeared from the political debate around the 1930s. However, this thesis has only investigated the first half of the movement. The subsequent politicisation of temperance – its adoption by the Liberal party in the late 1880s (and consequent Conservative backing for the drink interest), its relationship with the socialists and the Independent Labour party, schemes for the municipalization of the drink interest etc. all affected its success.

It is nevertheless tempting to enquire if the fight for sobriety has been a total failure. In absolute terms, the answer is obviously affirmative. Drinking above ‘sensible limits’, whether systematically or sporadically, is a big problem in contemporary England. Dr. Roger Henderson wrote in *The Sunday Times*, March 22 1998;

I see patients with alcohol problems several times a week and the striking thing about these people is that they range across the whole social and economic spectrum. Nobody is immune from alcohol dependence. [...] The scale of alcohol abuse is awesome. We spend about £25,000 every minute of every day on alcohol, and 20% of the population drinks 80% of it. Worse still, 3% of the adult population drinks 30% of it [...]. With 20% of all suicides in the UK being among alcohol-dependent people, these figures make worrying reading.

On the other hand, *per capita* consumption of beer has fallen from 31 gallons in 1872 to 5 gallons in 1997.² There have been reductions in spirits and wine consumption too. The temperance campaign can claim some, but certainly not all of the credit for this.

The temperance movement has been influential. In February 1999, the Institute of Alcohol Studies (IAS), a specialist body, outlined the measures that should be used in the fight against excessive drinking.³ In order to reduce the level of consumption, both supply and demand needed to be ‘attacked’. It was suggested that the supply of alcohol could be reduced by;

- controls of production and trade.
- controls on distribution and sales (e.g. regulating the number of licensed outlets and their hours of opening; drinking age laws etc.).
- increasing the price of alcoholic drink by taxation.

Measures for reducing the demand for alcohol included;

- health education.
- promotion of alternatives to alcoholic drinks.
- provision of alternative meeting places to alcohol outlets.
- provision of alternatives to drinking as a leisure-time occupation.
- reducing incentives to drinking by controls on advertising and promotion of alcohol.

A treatment agency or self help were suggested as ways of cutting down alcohol consumption.

Most of these measures are reminiscent of their Victorian counterparts. However, the control of advertising and promotion of alcohol was not relevant to the nineteenth century, and controls of production and trade were not attempted, other than efforts to improve the quality of alcoholic drinks through the eradication of adulteration. This was in line with the campaign to improve the quality of all foodstuffs. Reducing production by controlling the brewers would have gone against the economic principles of the day that

favoured the free play of market forces. Licensing controls were tried, and opening hours were altered. Taxation was used as a control. (Gladstone believed that spirit duties should be at the highest level they could bear). Alternatives to alcoholic drinks would have developed more quickly if government backing had been forthcoming. Private enterprise was slow to respond to market demand, production only really taking off after the 1870s. (In the hot summer of 1868, the *Standard* pined for the cheap cordials obtainable in continental cities). Regarding alternative leisure pursuits, the popularity of sports, both spectator and participatory, really dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, outside the period of this thesis, when football, tennis, athletics, rugby and cricket all established rules and governing bodies. However, town halls, museums, picture galleries, public libraries, cinemas, public assembly halls and trading centres had all been appearing since the 1820s. The temperance advocates could claim some of the credit for this.⁴

Today's solutions to the drink problem

There is an important comparison to be made between current and Victorian policies on alcohol. Current policies have a foundation in the Conservative White Paper 'The Health of the Nation: A Strategy for Health in England', 1992.⁵

Tax

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is now committed to taking health into consideration when deciding on alcohol duties each year. Cheap imports from France and other EU countries, as well as pressure from the drink industry to reduce duties to European levels, complicates the issue, however. The problem of import duty levels is reminiscent of Gladstone's struggle in 1860. As mentioned in chapter five, as Chancellor

of the Exchequer and a great believer in free trade, he reduced many duties on goods imported from France. This made French wines cheaper in England and opened up the British wine market. Along with the increase on spirits duties, it was an attempt to improve English drinking habits through price controls by lowering consumption of spirits and increasing that of (less harmful) wine, and it worked.⁶

Licensing laws

The essential principle that a special licence is required to sell alcohol has been recognised since 1552. Then, as now, magistrates were given the task of granting renewable licences to individuals, not premises. They depended on the proposed licensee being 'fit and proper'. In England and Wales today, licensing is governed by the 1964 Licensing Act, amended by subsequent legislation. Local Licensing Magistrates take into account the character of the applicant, his age and experience. They also consider the suitability of the premises, although local authorities also have responsibility for this aspect. In 1999, there were over 200,000 licensed premises in the UK, having either 'on' or 'off' licences. Gladstone had greatly extended the number of licensed premises in 1860 (indirectly) by making his new 'off' licence available to any shopkeeper. The results were an increase in the amount of drinking, stimulated by the easier access. In a later reversal, the Report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, 1899, agreed on decreasing the number of licensed premises as a core strategy for dealing with excessive working class drinking.

When there is an over-concentration of alcohol outlets in a given locality, 'alcohol flashpoints' occur where crime and public disorder are encouraged. In the USA, it has been estimated that 'eliminating the glut of alcohol outlets in inner city areas would cut the

homicide rate by 10%, saving 2,000 lives a year'.⁷ The Liverpool experiment of the 1850s and 60s, mentioned in chapter five, will be remembered here. The free-licensing policy adopted by Liverpool magistrates led to increased crime rates in the city and had to be abandoned. Wilfred Lawson, the temperance MP, declared free licensing had made Liverpool 'next door to a very hell upon earth'. The creation of alcohol-free areas in the nineteenth century like Saltaire in West Yorkshire, possible under local prohibition, are also possible today, for municipal authorities have the power to implement them even without a local vote. Obviously, there would have to be popular acquiescence, which is manifestly not the case now. (In 1907, there were 3,903 civil parishes in which no on-licences were issued, out of 12,995 civil parishes in rural districts in England and Wales).⁸

Restricted opening hours have been blamed for the disorder that often occurs after last orders are called, and drinkers are obliged to leave the public house *en masse*. Binge drinking in the last minutes has also been criticised. The alcohol industry's parliamentary Portman Group has advocated experimental de-regulation of closing time in order to solve the problem, and extended opening hours are now seen as the solution by the current Labour government. There is a definite move away from the standard, set opening hour restrictions first introduced statutorily in 1830. The 1988 Licensing Act has allowed all day drinking during the week in England and Wales. Conscious of the possible consequences, in this year the Ministerial Group on Alcohol Misuse sent out guidelines to all licensing committees reminding them of the connection between alcohol and disorder, urging them to make full use of their legal powers in relation, for example, to granting licences and late night extensions, exclusion orders and underage drinking. In 1989, the liberalisation of the licensing law in Edinburgh, part of a closely monitored experiment to reduce crime in the city, the 'Safer Edinburgh Project', was deemed unsuccessful and to have catered too much to the interests of the drink trade and a small section of the drinking public. Police,

environmental health bodies, hospitals, local prevention panels, residents' associations and others all favoured the reintroduction of 'zone closing - earlier and uniform closing times within a specified geographical district'. This is one experiment pointing to the failure of extended opening times, reinforcing the Victorian experience.

Underage drinking

The negative effects of exposing children to alcoholic drink, or a drinking environment, whether in the home, workplace or place of sale, was recognised long before 1830. The extent of the problem in mid-Victorian times can be seen by the results of an enquiry at Manchester in 1854 that showed 22,232 children and young people attended 1,446 licensed houses on a given Sunday.⁹ The tendency has been to increasingly protect children from this. The 1902 Licensing Act made it an offence 'for any person to be found drunk on any highway, public house, licensed premise, public place, building or inn while having charge of a child under 7'. The Children Act of 1908 prohibited the administration of intoxicating liquor to a child under five, except under medical supervision 'or in the case of sickness or other urgent cause'. Children aged 16 and over may purchase and consume beer, porter, cider or perry, but only to have with a meal. Otherwise, no person under 18 can buy alcohol in licensed premises, nor have alcohol bought for them by another for consumption in a bar. The 1988 Licensing Act tightened the law on selling alcohol to young people under 18, and the maximum fine was raised from £100 to £400.

Despite these measures, underage drinking in England today is a very serious problem. Strong drink is part of youth culture. Although access to drink-selling venues is still strictly regulated, restrictions were relaxed somewhat at the end of the twentieth century. The 1994 De-regulation Act allows magistrates to grant children's certificates to

pubs they consider suitable, allowing accompanied children under 14 into bars. Over 4,000 certificates were issued from January 1995-99, to around 5% of pubs. Children are being introduced to a drinking environment once again.

In 1988, the Home Secretary announced a six-point plan to 'tackle brawling by drunken youths'.¹⁰

- ? rigorous enforcement of the provisions of the Licensing Act 1988 on under-age drinking.

- ? support for the idea of local groups of licensees running their own identity card schemes for young people [the lack of national identity cards makes proving one's age difficult].

- ? appropriate use of the powers under the 1988 Licensing Act for licensing judges to refuse to extend drink licences to late night discos and dances.¹¹

- ? appropriate use of the powers under the Licensed Premises (Exclusion of Certain Persons) Act 1980, allowing magistrates to make an order banning people convicted of violent offences on licensed premises from specified licensed premises in the area.

- ? examining with the magistrates and police whether more use should be made of the power available under section 188 of the Licensing Act 1964 allowing temporary closure of all licensed premises in an area where disorder is anticipated.

- ? full use by the police and courts of powers to object to licences and revoke or refuse to renew them in the case of disorderly or otherwise badly managed premises.

As can be seen, concern to protect those under 18 from the drinking environment, encouragement for magistrates to use powers at their disposal to limit opening hours, banning undesirables from licensed premises, punishing bad licensees by non-renewal of their licence, and preventative action to guard against trouble are the main points of the plan. Organised violence and drink-related disturbances (at football matches, for example), have appeared/increased since the times of Queen Victoria, and it is not to be wondered at

that tougher measures are now used to combat it. (The British Crime Survey for 1988 found that 86% of male victims of violent assault in pubs and clubs involved a drunken assailant. 44% of all violence involved drunken assailants).¹²

Sunday drinking

All day drinking is now permitted on Sundays as well as during the week, and opening hours of off-licences have been increased, too. The struggle to keep the Sabbath drink-free, fought so long and hard by so many in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has been lost. If they choose, pubs can stay open all day. Interestingly, not all do so. The English do not have the habit of frequenting pubs on Sunday morning (although the Sunday pub lunch is very popular). Of course, not everyone who frequents a public house drinks alcohol, and the pub is often the best place to have a Sunday morning cup of coffee. This highlights the lack of alternative venues open on that day, and the lack of a café culture. Increased travel abroad has affected drinking habits, however. There is a resurgence in the popularity of coffee, fomented by chains such as *Starbucks*, and as noted before, wine is now more popular.

Education

Some nineteenth-century temperance advocates worked hard to gain access to schools, recognising the importance of educating young minds to temperance. Now, alcohol is seen as a harmful drug and its dangers are broached at primary and secondary school levels, in a less biased manner. The National Curriculum requires pupils aged 7 ? 11 ‘to know about the factors which contribute to good health and body maintenance,

including avoidance of harmful substances such as alcohol'. Pupils from 11 ? 14 are required 'to understand the risks of alcohol abuse and how it affects body processes'.

Public awareness campaigns about the risks of alcohol, drink-driving etc. are also carried out. The Victorians used travelling lecturers, pamphlets and journals to get their message across. In the absence of television and radio, they were at a disadvantage relative to their counterparts today. However, it must be remembered that although there are restrictions on advertising alcohol, the drink industry also has the media and funds at its disposal, and uses them effectively.

Workplace

John Dunlop's crusade against workplace drink customs has born fruit. Safety and production requirements have led many employers to ban alcohol from the workplace, and the transport industry in particular prohibits the use of alcohol during work hours. Employers accept that production is adversely affected by drinking, and therefore it is controlled. Long gone are the days when beer was provided in order to increase a man's strength, or drams were taken in order to alleviate poor working conditions.

Health and social services

Preventive health education is now encouraged, and family doctors have a pivotal role to play. Doctors are encouraged to monitor their patient's drinking 'and to take appropriate action in regard to those with alcohol problems and/or [who] are exceeding the "sensible limits"'.¹³ This is very different from the time when doctors routinely prescribed

alcoholic drinks as restoratives or medicines, and feared the effects of teetotalism on the body's constitution.

As can be seen, the temperance movement, so active in the nineteenth century but so muzzled from the late twentieth, has had an important role in determining social behaviour. Attitudes to drink abuse were changed by those who believed it degrading to the abuser. In line with the attempts to drag the lower classes up 'by their boot straps', drink education was part of the general attempt to spread education to all. The movement was simplistic in its aims and methods, but then so were all the nineteenth-century reforming campaigns. Today's slick, sophisticated propaganda was a long way away. If nothing else, the temperance movement in England from 1830-72 helped to form public opinion and influence attitudes. By stimulating discussion/opposition, enterprising, dynamic men and women challenged the long held myths concerning alcohol. In today's drug/disease-ridden world, alcohol abuse has again lost its capacity to shock, but it lurks in the background, ready to pounce on the unwary.

Future research

The most obvious area of further research is to extend investigation of the movement to the present day. The reasons for the eclipse of the movement around the 1940s would be particularly interesting. As the subject is vast and the movement includes different types of organisations (friendly societies or simple anti-drink groups), a particular temperance organisation like The Rechabites or the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance could be focussed on. Neither of these have histories beyond the 1950s. The temperance organisations have to 'move with the times' if they are to have a useful role to play in the

drink question, and the aforementioned societies in particular have shown they are capable of this. The Alliance works on an international level in partnership with the World Health Organisation, for example. The Rechabites passed an important amendment to their constitution in June 2002, allowing moderate drinkers as members. (Due to falling membership numbers, it was estimated that the organisation would have ‘died’ by 2007).

There is obviously scope for further local temperance histories, or biographies of temperance advocates. In addition, first-hand accounts (oral histories) of what it was like to be a Rechabite etc. during the twentieth century, would be a valuable contribution to our understanding of twentieth-century English culture.

Reference Notes

Conclusion

¹ Feb. 4 1860, quoted in Harrison: 1994, p. 348.

² Wilson: 1940, p. 332 & IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc10.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc10.htm). The figures are not strictly comparable due to differing strengths of beer, but the reduction is impressive.

³ IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc8.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc8.htm).

⁴ See Harrison: 1994, pp. 293-5.

⁵ IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc9.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc9.htm)

⁶ For details of revenue from the liquor trade see Wilson: 1940, pp. 188-206.

⁷ IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/crime.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/crime.htm).

⁸ Harrison: 1994, p. 360; IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc9.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc9.htm).

⁹ Wilson: 1940, p. 155.

¹⁰ IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/crime.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/crime.htm).

¹¹ Before the Act, if someone had a local authority music and dancing extension – up to 3 a.m. in central London and 2 a.m. elsewhere – the licensing judges were compelled also to grant them a liquor licensing extension. This is no longer the case.

¹² IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/crime.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/crime.htm).

¹³ IAS fact sheet: [http:// www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc9.htm](http://www.ias.org.uk/factsheets/medsoc9.htm).

APPENDIX 1

Significant dates in the control of intoxicating liquor 1552-1872

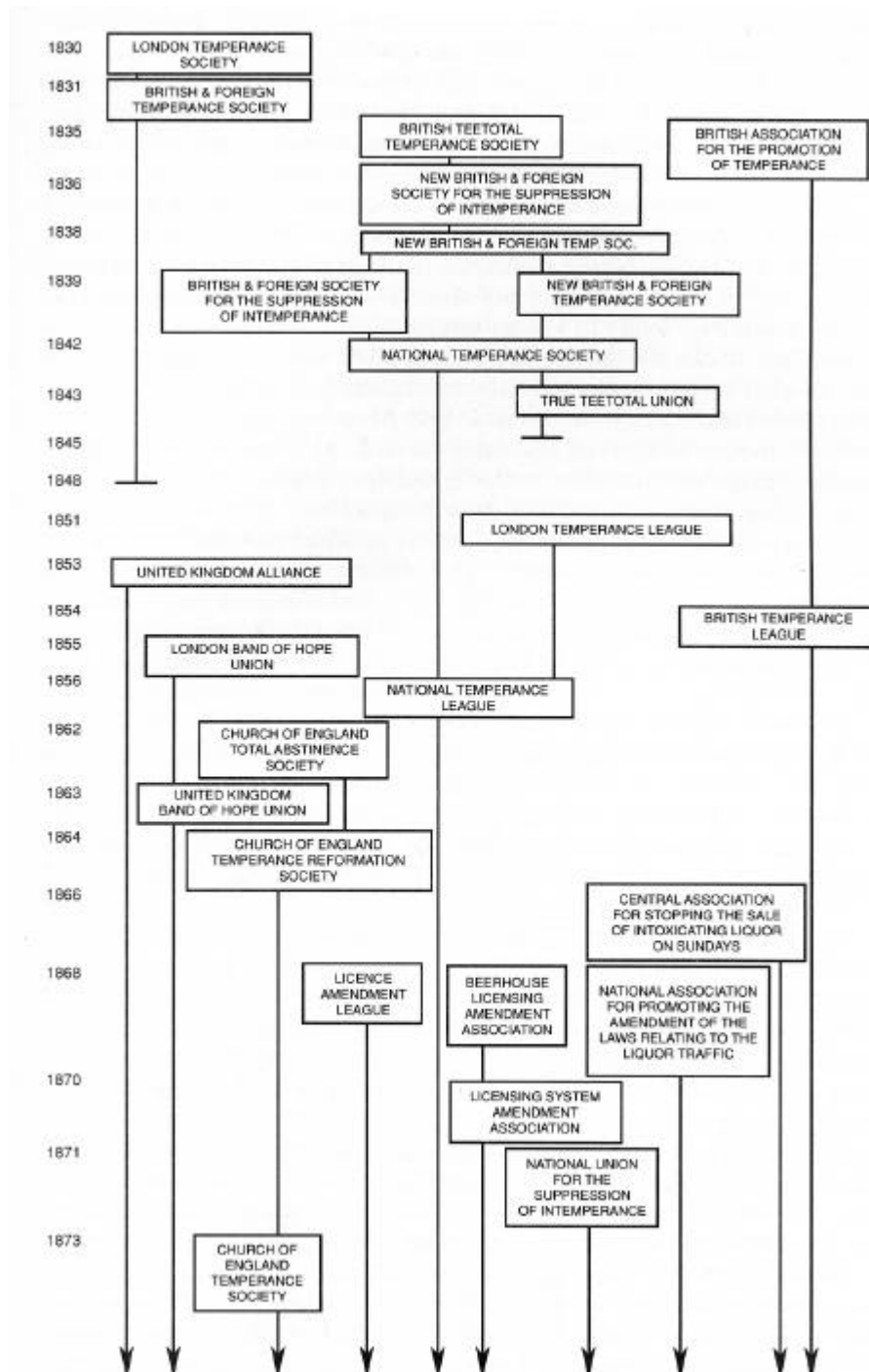
1552	First major Licensing Act. Justices of the Peace were given powers to grant and withdraw licences for keeping a common alehouse. No fee was required. Licences were annually renewable, and their number was restricted. Little parliamentary interference.
1623	Statute recognised the King's prerogative, ('royal licences'), to give a licence to any tavern-keeper to sell wine. A regular source of revenue for the crown was established.
1690	General permission granted to all persons to distil and retail spirits made from English-grown corn. Low duties established for distilled spirits made from malted corn. No licence needed by spirit retailers. Great drunkenness ensued.
1700	Licences to keep alehouses were liberally granted and never revoked. A great multiplication of inns and alehouses was seen.
1729	All liquor licences to be granted at a general session of the Justices of the division ? so called 'Brewster Session' ? of which one to be held for this purpose in September of each year. The first Gin Act. An excise duty of five shillings a gallon put on gin and other 'compounded' spirits. Every spirit retailer required to take out an annual twenty-pound licence.
1733	Repeal of the 1729 Gin Act, due to wide scale evasion and protest.
1736	Provisions of the 1729 act were extended to all spirits. A tax was put on the retailer of twenty shillings for every gallon sold, and a fifty-pound annual licence fee was required by publicans. Riots ensued. The act was unworkable, and ignored by the population.
1743	Repeal of the 1736 Gin Act. Small revenue duties on manufactured spirits and annual retail licences at a moderate fee were introduced. Magisterial supervision was imposed. Spirit consumption gradually diminished via piecemeal legislation.
1757	Royal licences abolished.
1770s-1820	Magisterial campaign of regulation and suppression of the drink trade until widespread resentment against this control.
1822	Licensing Act. No drinking during Divine Service on Sundays allowed. Premises to close 'during late hours of the night or early in the morning'. Magistrates usually fixed 10 or 11 p.m. as weekday closing time. Reduction in English-made spirit duties and in the publican's licence for selling spirits (from five to two guineas).
1825	Sale of whisky in England legalised for the first time (to counter smuggling over the Scottish border). Home brewing encouraged. A big increase in spirit-drinking followed these measures.
1828	Alehouses Act: Estcourt's Act simplified the licensing laws. Decline of magisterial control. Magistrates' power to grant licences at Licensing Sessions retained, but appeal to Quarter Sessions allowed. Magistrates

- given powers to close a public house in case of 'tumult or riot', otherwise they did not interfere. Recommended closure during Sunday morning service. No reference to weekday closing.
- 1829 First British anti-spirits temperance societies established in New Ross, Ireland and Greenock, Scotland.
- 1830 Beerhouse Act. 'Free Trade in Beer' began under Wellington. Duties on beer removed. Only a £2 2s. excise fee and a small surety were required to sell beer. Magistrates' control severely limited. Principle of statutorily restricting closing hours first introduced. Beerhouse opening times set from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays and 1 p.m.-3 p.m. / 5 p.m.-10 p.m. on Sundays. Magisterial control remained on public houses, where spirits were sold. First English Temperance (anti-spirits) Society founded in Bradford.
- 1832 September 1. First total abstinence pledge, drawn up by Joseph Livesey, signed by the Seven Men of Preston.
- 1833 Select Committee on the Sale of Beer appointed.
Beerhouse Amendment Act. A certificate of character in the country and a £10 qualification in towns required for a beer licence. Police given right of entry at all times. Weekday opening at 5 a.m.
- 1834 Division made between 'on' and 'off' beer houses.
- 1835 British Association for the Promotion of Temperance formed in Manchester, September 15.
- 1836 Thomas Whittaker and James Teare set out from Preston as missionaries for 'The Reform'.
- 1838 New British and Foreign Temperance Society formed in London, June 27.
- 1839 The British and Foreign Society for the Suppression of Intemperance formed in London, June 10.
Sunday morning closing of public houses in London achieved by a clause in the Metropolitan Police Act (except for travellers).
- 1840 Beerhouse Act laid down statutory opening hours for beer houses, similar to those of public houses: See Appendix 8. Principle of varying statutory closing hours with population density introduced.
- 1846 World's Temperance Convention, August 6.
- 1848 Alehouses and Beerhouses Act ? Sunday closure until 12.30 p.m. except for travellers. Conference of Ministers, Manchester, April 13.
- 1849-50 House of Lords Committee on Intemperance. Evils resulting from the 1830 Beerhouse Act were confirmed, but recommendations were weak.
Sunday morning closing extended throughout England and Wales.
- 1851 The first Prohibition law passed in the State of Maine, U.S.A.
- 1853 United Kingdom Alliance (the UKA or Alliance) formed in Manchester, June 1.
House of Commons Select Committee on the Sale of Beer appointed.
- 1854 Select Committee reported, confirming among other things a worsening of the incidence of drunkenness since the 1830 Beer Act and a large amount of drinking on Sundays.
Sunday Beer (Wilson-Patten) Act greatly restricted Sunday opening hours, (closure between 2.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. and after 10 p.m.), drink only being available to '*bona fide* travellers'.
British Association for the Promotion of Temperance changed its name to British Temperance League.

- 1855 Sunday trading riots (Hyde Park). Wilson-Patten Act repealed and Sunday licensing hours increased again, (closure between 3 and 5 p.m. and not before 11 p.m.).
Beginnings of the schism between moral suasionists and legislative compulsionists.
- 1856 National Temperance Society and the London Temperance League combined to form the National Temperance League.
- 1857 Change of Alliance policy; objective not a Maine Law but a Permissive Bill enabling local option.
- 1860 Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences Act. Gladstone lowered duties on foreign wines and spirits and raised those on British spirits. New wine 'off' licence created for shopkeepers ? 'grocers' licence'.
- 1861 Wine and spirits 'off' licences more easily available.
- 1862 Permissive Bill Resolution first moved in the Commons by Wilfred Lawson, MP, the parliamentary Alliance spokesman.
- 1863 'Off' licences for beer introduced.
- 1864 Public-house Closing Act, the first Permissive Act; in the Metropolitan Police District or any corporate borough adopting the Act no public house allowed open between 1 a.m. and 4 a.m., except for lodgers.
- 1865 Public House Closing Act extended 1864 Act's permissive powers to petty sessional divisions throughout the country. Magistrates could grant exemptions between 2 a.m. and 4 a. m. for special trades or persons attending early morning markets.
- 1866 Proposal to repeal the malt tax.
- 1868 House of Commons Select Committee on the Sale of Liquors on Sunday.
- 1869 Wine and Beer House Act: 'Free Trade in Beer' ended.
- 1870 Wine and Beer House Amendment Act: the hours of public house closing made applicable to all liquor-licensed shopkeepers.
Convocation of Canterbury Report on Intemperance presented.
- 1871 Bruce, Home Secretary, introduced a comprehensive Licensing Bill to the Commons. The bill was withdrawn because of lack of support.
- 1872 Licensing Act, incorporating the 'regulative' provisions of the 1871 bill. It repealed previous regulations and fixed the same hours for all licensed houses. Metropolitan District: Sundays 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. Weekdays 5 a.m. to midnight. Elsewhere: Sundays 12.30 (or 1) p.m. to 2.30 (or 3) p.m. and 6 p.m. to 10 (or any hour between 9 and 11 p.m.): Weekdays 6 a.m. (or any hour between 5 and 7 a.m.) to 11 p.m. (or any hour between 10 p.m. and midnight). Discretionary powers for magistrates (repealed in 1874). It allowed for fines and licences to be endorsed or made void upon conviction for violating the terms and conditions. The idea of variable public house regulation introduced.
The Alliance decided on 'direct action' in the constituencies, fielding its own temperance candidates when others showed themselves to be unsatisfactory.

APPENDIX 2

National Temperance Organisations 1830 ? 1873



Harrison: 1994, p.135

APPENDIX 3

The following address was largely circulated and, according to Livesey, ‘shows so forcibly the spirit and earnestness of our early workers in Preston, that I feel anxious to have it preserved, especially as it contains the names of thirty of our reformed drunkards’, (Pearce: 1885, p. 76).

AN ADDRESS TO TIPLERS, DRUNKARDS, AND BACKSLIDERS

Friends! ? You are miserable and wretched, both in body, soul, and circumstances; your families and friends are suffering through your folly; you have no peace here, and can have no peace hereafter; and all this proceeds from the delusive, maddening habit of drinking intoxicating liquors. You are told that these liquors do you good. *It is a falsehood, invented and propagated for the purpose of getting your money.* Judge of the good they have done by the *effects* which they have produced upon *yourselves* and *others*. Oh! shun the public-house as you would do a plague, and the company of drunkards as you would a gang of robbers.

Friends! ? We were once drunkards, and most of us were in the same wretched condition as yourselves; but being reclaimed, we are anxious for you to enjoy the same liberty and blessings which we enjoy. *We are now happy:* our wives are comfortable; our children are provided for; we are better in health, better in circumstances; we have peace of mind; and no tongue can tell the comfort we have enjoyed since we became consistent members of the Temperance Society. Ale and strong drink have slain more than war or pestilence; and while we refuse no kind of food or drink which God hath sent, we *abstain* from all diluted poison, *manufactured* to ruin mankind, and to rob our country of its greatness. *We have seen our delusion: and we now drink neither ale, wine, gin, rum, nor brandy, nor any kind of intoxicating liquor. There is no safety for you nor us but in giving it up entirely.* Come forward then, ye tipplers, drunkards, and backsliders! attend our meetings, and be resolved to cast off the fetters of intemperance; *and once and for ever determine to be free!*

John Billington, Weaver
John Brade, Joiner
Richard Bray, Fishmonger
Robert Caton, Spinner
William Caton, Spinner
William Gregory, Tailor
George Gregson, Plasterer
John Gregson, Mechanic
William Howarth, Sizer
Robert Jolly, Sawyer
William Moss, Mechanic
Mark Myers, Shoemaker
Henry Newton, Mole Catcher
Thomas Osbaldeston, Moulder
Robert Parker, Moulder

William Parkinson, Clogger
Joseph Richardson, Shoemaker
Richard Rhodes, Weaver
James Ryan, Spinner
Richard Shackleton, Spinner
Samuel Smalley, Spinner
Joseph Smirk, Moulder
James Smith, Spinner
George Stead, Broker
Thos. Swindlehurst, Roller Maker
Randal Swindlehurst, Mechanic
John Thornhill, Cabinet Maker
Richard Turner, Plasterer
Joseph Yates, Shopkeeper
William Yates, Weaver

Preston, Dec. 27th, 1833

APPENDIX 4

Examples of some early pledges

- 1 The ‘fundamental principle’ of the Blackburn Temperance Society, 1831.

We, the undersigned, believing the use of intoxicating liquors are injurious to the temporal and spiritual interests of the people, and that decided means of reformation are imperatively called for, do voluntarily agree to abstain from the use of ardent spirits except for medicinal purposes; that if we use other liquors it shall be in great moderation, and that we will never use them in any inn or house in which they are sold, except when necessary for refreshment in travelling or transacting business when from home, in order that by all proper means we may discountenance the causes and practices of intemperance.
- 2 The ‘long’ pledge, adopted by the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, in 1836.

I do voluntarily promise that I will abstain from ale, porter, wine, cider, ardent spirits, or any other intoxicating liquors, and that I will not give nor offer them to others, except as medicine or in a religious ordinance; and that I will discountenance all the causes and practices of intemperance.
- 3 Specimens of the ‘short’ and ‘long’ total abstinence pledges in use in London in 1837.

Short Pledge

I do voluntarily promise to abstain from ale, porter, wine, ardent spirits, and all intoxicating drink, except for medical purposes or in a religious ordinance.

Long Pledge

I do voluntarily promise that I will abstain from ale, porter, wine, ardent spirits, and all intoxicating liquors, and will not give or offer them to others, except under medical prescription or in a religious ordinance.

APPENDIX 5

Extracts from the Report of the 1834 House of Commons Select Committee on Intemperance

II. Remote Causes of its Production

2 [...] the influence of example set by the upper classes of society when habits of intoxication were more frequent in such ranks than among their inferiors in station; and the many customs and courtesies still retained from a remote ancestry of mingling the gift of intoxicating drinks with almost every important event in life [...] baptisms, marriages and funerals, anniversaries, holidays and festivities, [...] and even in the commercial transactions of purchase and sale.

III. Immediate Causes of its Extension

3 [...] the increased number and force of the temptations placed in [the humbler classes'] daily path, by the additional establishment of places at which Intoxicating Drinks are sold the number now being considered [...] to be not less than one such place to about every twenty families throughout the United Kingdom; and the increased facilities of obtaining the dangerous gratification of the moment which these afford, by the reduction in the duty on legally distilled spirits; by the reduction in the price, occasioned by admixtures with this of illegally distilled spirits; by the additional allurements presented by every new competitor who seeks to present more powerful attractions to visitors; and by the very small sums, less even than a penny, for which drams of Intoxicating Drinks can now be procured.

IV. Consequences to Individual Character

4 That the consequences of the vice of Intoxication among the humbler classes [...] are so many and so fearful to contemplate, [...] to pursue them in all their melancholy and fatal details would require a volume.

5 That the following are only a few of the evils directly springing from this baneful source:

6 Destruction of health; [...]

7 Destruction of mental capacity and vigour, and extinction of aptitude for learning, as well as of disposition for practising any useful art or industrious occupation.

8 Irritation of all the worst passions of the heart: [...]

9 Extinction of all moral and religious principle; [...]

V. Consequences to National Welfare

10 [...] the consequences of Intoxication and intemperate habits among the people are as destructive of the general welfare of the community as they are fatal to the happiness of individuals. Among others, the following evils may be distinctly traced.

11 The destruction of an immense amount of wholesome and nutritious grain, given by a bountiful Providence for the food of man, which is now converted by distillation into a poison; [...]

12 The loss of productive labour in every department of occupation, to the extent of at least one day in six throughout the kingdom (as testified by witnesses engaged in various manufacturing operations). [...]

13 The extensive loss of property by sea, from shipwrecks, founderings, fires, and innumerable other accidents, many of which [...] are traceable to Drunkenness in some of the parties employed in the navigation and charge of such vessels, whose vigilance, had they been sober, would have been sufficient safeguards against their occurrence.

14 The comparative inefficiency of the Navy and Army [for] Intemperance is a canker worm that eats away its strength and its discipline to the very core. [...]

15 The injury to national reputation abroad, by the intemperate habits of our soldiers and seamen [...].

16 The diminution of the physical power and longevity of a large portion of the British population, by the destructive effects already described, as produced on individuals, the loss of beauty, the decline of health and the progressive decay of the bodily and mental powers; [...]

17 The increase of Pauperism [...] divested of that sense of shame which would disdain to receive relief whilst honest industry could secure the humblest independence [...].

18 The spread of Crime in every shape and form, from theft, fraud and prostitution in the young, to burnings, robberies and more hardened offences in the old; [...]

19 The retardation of all Improvement, inventive or industrial, civil or political, moral or religious; the hindering of education, the weakening of good example, and the creation of constant and increasing difficulties in the propagation of the sound morality and sublime truths of the Gospel, both at home and abroad, according to the testimony of teachers, pastors and others examined by Your Committee [...].

20 That the mere pecuniary loss to the nation, from the several causes already enumerated [...] may be fairly estimated at little short of fifty millions sterling per annum.

VI. Remedies to be applied

21 That the remedies [...] are two-fold; first, legislative, and secondly, moral; and these again divide themselves into, immediate and prospective [...].

22 That the *right* to exercise legislative interference for the correction of any evil which affects the public weal, cannot be questioned, without dissolving society into its primitive elements, and going back from the combined and co-operative state of

civilization, with all its wholesome and lawfully imposed restraints, to the isolated and lawless condition of savage and solitary nature.

23 That the *power* to apply correction by legislative means, cannot be doubted, without supposing the sober, the intelligent, the just and the moral portion of the community unable to control the excesses of the ignorant and disorderly, which would be to declare our incapacity to maintain the first principles of Government by ensuring the public safety.

24 That the *sound policy* of applying legislative power to direct, restrain or punish, as the cases may require, the vicious and contaminating propensities of the evil-disposed, cannot be disputed, without invalidating the right of Government to protect the innocent from the violence of the guilty, which would in effect declare all government to be useless, and all lawful authority to be without any intelligible object or end; an admission that would undermine the very first principles of society.

VII. Immediate Remedies, Legislative and Moral

25 The remedies which appear to Your Committee to be desirable and practicable to be put into immediate operation may be thus enumerated:

26 The separation of the houses in which Intoxicating Drinks are sold, into four distinct classes: 1st Houses for the sale of Beer only ? not to be consumed on the premises: 2nd. Houses for the sale of Beer only ? to be consumed on the premises, and in which refreshments of food may also be obtained: 3rd. Houses for the sale of Spirits only ? not to be consumed on the premises: 4th Houses for the accommodation of strangers and travellers, where bed and board may be obtained, and in which Spirits, Wine and Beer may all be sold.

27 The limiting of the number of such houses, of each class, in proportion to population in towns, and to distances and population in country districts: the licences

for each to be annual, and granted by magistrates and municipal authorities rather than by the Excise; to be chargeable with larger sums annually than are now paid for them, especially for the sale of Spirits; and the keepers of such houses to be subject to progressively increasing fines for disorderly conduct, and forfeiture of licence and closing up of the houses for repeated offences.

28 The closing of all such houses at earlier hours in the evening than at present [...] excepting only in the last class of houses for travellers, which may be opened at any hour for persons requiring food or beds in the dwelling.

29 The first and second class of houses in which Beer only is sold, to be closed on the Sabbath-day, except for one hour in the afternoon and one hour in the evening, to admit of families being supplied with Beer at those periods: the third class of houses where Spirits only are sold to be entirely closed during the whole of the Sabbath-day; and the fourth class, as Inns or Hotels, to be closed to all visitors on that day, excepting only to travellers and inmates of the dwelling.

30 The making of all Retail Spirit Shops as open to public view as other shops where wholesome provisions are sold, [...].

31 The refusal of Retail Spirit Licences to all but those who would engage to confine themselves exclusively to dealing in that article: [...].

32 The discontinuance of all issues of ardent spirits (except as medicine, under the direction of medical officers) to the Navy and Army, on all stations, and to every other body of men employed by or under the control of the Government, and the substitution of other articles of wholesome nutriment and refreshment instead. The abolition of all garison and barrack canteens, at home and abroad, and the substitution of some other

and better mode of filling up the leisure of men confined within military forts and lines [...].

33 The withholding from the ships employed in the Merchant service, the drawback granted to them on foreign spirits, by which they are now enabled to ship their supplies of that article at a reduced scale of duty, [...].

34 The prohibition of the practice of paying the wages of workmen at public houses or any other place where Intoxicating Drinks are sold.

35 The providing for the payment of such wages to every individual his exact amount [...] so as to render it unnecessary for men to frequent the public houses, and spend a portion of their earnings to obtain change.

36 The payment of wages at or before the breakfast hour in the mornings of the principal market day in each town, to enable the wives or other providers of workmen to lay out their earnings in necessary provisions at an early period of the market, instead of risking its dissipation at night in the public house.

37 The prohibition of the meetings of all friendly societies, sick clubs, money clubs, masonic lodges, or any other permanent associations of mutual benefit and relief at public houses, or places where Intoxicating Drinks are sold; [...]

38 The establishment [...] of public walks, and gardens, or open spaces for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town [...]; and of parish libraries, museums and reading rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge [...] with the rigid exclusion of all Intoxicating Drinks of every kind from all such places, whether in the open air or closed.

39 The reduction of the duty on tea, coffee and sugar, and all the healthy and unintoxicating articles of drink in ordinary use; [...]

40 The encouragement of Temperance Societies in every town and village of the kingdom [...].

41 The diffusion of sound information as to the extensive evils produced to individuals and to the State, by the use of any beverage that destroys the health, cripples the industry, and poisons the morals of its victims.

42 The institution of every subordinate auxiliary means of promoting the reformation of all such usages, courtesies, habits and customs of the people, as lead to intemperate habits; [...]

43 The removal of all taxes on knowledge, and the extending every facility to the widest spread of useful information to the humblest classes of the community.

44 A National System of Education, which [...] should embrace, as an essential part of the instruction given by it to every child in the kingdom, accurate information as to the poisonous and invariably deleterious nature of ardent Spirits [...]; and the inculcation of a sense of shame, at the crime of voluntarily destroying, or thoughtlessly obscuring, that faculty of reasoning, and that consciousness of responsibility, which chiefly distinguish Man from the Brute, and which his Almighty Maker, when He created him in his own image, implanted in the human race to cultivate, to improve, and to refine ? and not to corrupt, to brutalize and to destroy.

VIII. Ultimate or Prospective Remedies

45 The ultimate or prospective remedies which have been strongly urged by several witnesses, and which *they* think, when public opinion shall be sufficiently awakened to the great national importance of the subject, [...] include the following:?

46 The absolute prohibition of the importation from any foreign country, or from our own colonies, of distilled Spirits in any shape.

47 The equally absolute prohibition of all distillation of ardent Spirits from grain, the most important part of the food of man in our own country.

48 The restriction of distillation from other materials, to the purposes of the arts, manufactures and medicine; and the confining the wholesale and retail dealing in such articles to chemists, druggists and dispensaries alone. [...]

APPENDIX 6

The 'Declaration of General Council', United Kingdom Alliance

Unanimously adopted at the first aggregate Meeting of the General Council, held in Manchester, October 26 1853, at which one hundred members of the Council, from various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, were present.

- I. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any Traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.
- II. That the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive of the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.
- III. That the history and results of all past Legislation, in regard to the Liquor Traffic, abundantly prove that it is impossible, satisfactorily, to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

- IV. That no consideration of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in result, as the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors.
- V. That the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.
- VI. That the Legislative Suppression of the Liquor Traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.
- VII. That, rising above class, sectarian or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of Intoxicating Beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of Intemperance.

APPENDIX 7

Table 9

Lincoln MPs 1830-72

	First representative	Second representative
1830	C. de L. W. Sibthorp (T)	J. Fardell (T)
1831	Sibthorp	G. F. Heneage (W)
1832	Heneage	E. G. E. Lytton Bulwer (L)
1835	Sibthorp	Bulwer
1837	Sibthorp	Bulwer
1841	Sibthorp	W. R. Collett (C)
1847	Sibthorp	* C. Seely (R)
1848	T. B. Hobhouse (L)	? ?
1852	** Sibthorp	Heneage
1856	G. T. W. Sibthorp (C)	? ?
1857	G.T.W. Sibthorp	Heneage
1859	+ G.T.W. Sibthorp	G. F. Heneage
1861	Seely	? ?
1862	++ J.B. Moore (C)	? ?
1865	Seely	E. Heneage (L)
1868	Seely	J. H. Palmer (L)
1874	E. Chaplin (C)	Seely

Green: 1974, p. 153 and Olney: 1973, pp. 254-5

* Seely was unseated in 1848 and Thomas B. Hobhouse elected.

** Sibthorp died Dec. 1855. His son Major G. T. W. Sibthorp replaced him in 1856.

+ 1861 Charles Seely elected on the death of Major Sibthorp.

++ J. B. Moore replaced G.F. Heneage in 1862.

Table 10

Mayors of Lincoln 1830-72

1830 Wm. Huddleston,	1844 John Stephenson	1859 Charles Ward
1831 Thomas Winn		1845 James Bruce
1832 Wm. Wrigglesworth	1846 Richard Carline	1861 John Cooper Torry
1833 James Snow	1847 Wm. Marshall	1862 Charles Doughty
1834 Page Cartledge	1848 Richard Whitton	1863 Wm. Foster
1835 Thomas Norton	1849 James Snow	1864 Richard S. Harvey
*1836 Robert Fowler	1850 Charles Ward	1865 Richard Hall
**1836 John Rudgard	1851 Edward J. Willson	1866 Wm. Ashley
1837 Charles Beaty	1852 Robert G. Hill	1867 John R. Battle
1838 Wm. Wriglesworth	1853 John T. Tweed	1868 George Glasier
1839 Wm. Rudgard	1854 T. J. N. Brogden	1869 Joseph Ruston
1840 Charles Seely	1855 Wm. Cooke Norton	1870 Charles Pratt
1841 George W. Hebb	1856 Nathaniel Clayton	1871 Wm. Harrison
1842 Thomas Wetherall	1857 Richard Carline	1872 Charles L Hughes
1843 Richard S. Harvey	1858 Joseph Shuttleworth	

Hill, 'How Lincoln was governed a century ago' in *Lincolnshire Chronicle and Leader*, April 1933.

* elected Jan. 1 1836
 ** elected Nov. 9 1836

APPENDIX 8

Table 11

Changes in Beerhouse Opening Hours: 1830–1874

LEGISLATION	AREA*	WEEKDAY HOURS	SUNDAY HOURS
1830 Beerhouse Act	All	4 a.m.–10 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
1834 Beerhouse Act	All	5 a.m.–11 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
1840 Beerhouse Act	London	5 a.m.–12 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Over 2500	5 a.m.–11 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Under 2500	5 a.m.–10 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
1848 Alehouses and Beer-houses Act	London	5 a.m.–12 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Over 2500	5 a.m.–11 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Under 2500	5 a.m.–10 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–10 p.m.
1854 Sunday Beer (Wilson-Patten) Act	London	5 a.m.–12 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Over 2500	5 a.m.–11 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Under 2500	5 a.m.–10 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.
1855 Sunday Beer Act	London	5 a.m.–12 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–11 p.m.
	Over 2500	5 a.m.–11 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–11 p.m.
	Under 2500	5 a.m.–10 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–11 p.m.
1872 Licencing Act	London	5 a.m.–12 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 6 p.m.–11 p.m.
	Over 2500	6 (or 5 or 7) a.m.–11 (or 10 or 12) p.m.	12.30 (or 1) p.m.–2.30 (or 3) p.m., 6 p.m.–10 (or 9 or 11) p.m.
	Under 2500	6 (or 5 or 7) a.m.–10 p.m.	12.30 (or 1) p.m.–2.30 (or 3) p.m., 6 p.m.–10 (or 9) p.m.
1874 Licencing Act	London	5 a.m.–12.30 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 6 p.m.–11 p.m.
	Towns or populous places	6 a.m.–11 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.
	Rural districts	6 a.m.–10 p.m.	12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.

* Figures in this column are for population in the area concerned.

Harrison: 1994, p. 316

Table 12

Changes in Public-house Opening Hours: 1828–1874

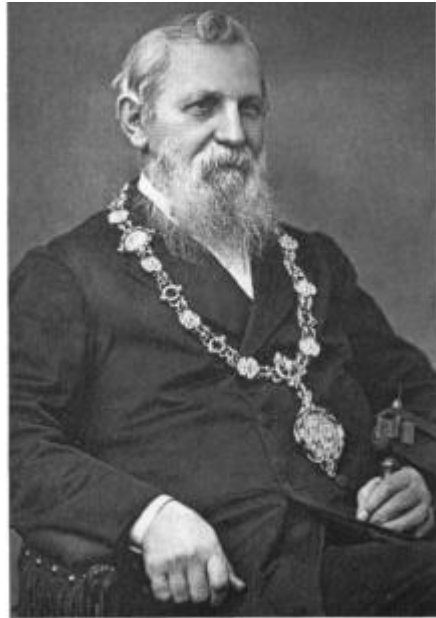
LEGISLATION	AREA	WEEKDAY HOURS	SUNDAY HOURS
1828 Estcourt's Alehouse Act	All	No statutory restriction	No statutory restriction, but must be closed during morning service
1839 Metropolitan Police Act	London (& adopted by some other towns in the 1840s) Elsewhere	No statutory restriction, except closing midnight Saturday "	Closed till 1 p.m. Closed during morning service
1848 Alehouses and Beer-houses Act	All	"	Closed till 12.30 p.m.
1854 Sunday Beer (Wilson-Patten) Act	All	No statutory restriction, except opening 4 a.m. Monday, closing midnight Saturday	12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.
1855 Sunday Beer Act	All	"	12.30 p.m.–3 p.m., 5 p.m.–11 p.m.
1864 Public-house Closing Act	London & permissive in boroughs. From 1865, permissive everywhere. Elsewhere	4 a.m.–1 a.m., closing midnight Saturday No statutory restriction, except opening 4 a.m. Monday, closing midnight Saturday	" "
1872 Licencing Act	London Over 2500 Under 2500	5 a.m.–12 p.m. 6 (or 5 or 7) a.m.–11 (or 10 or 12) p.m. 6 (or 5 or 7) a.m.–10 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 6 p.m.–11 p.m. 12.30 (or 1) p.m.–2.30 (or 3) p.m., 6 p.m.–10 (or 9 or 11) p.m. 12.30 (or 1) p.m.–2.30 (or 3) p.m., 6 p.m.–10 (or 9) p.m.
1874 Licencing Act	London Towns or populous places Rural districts	5 a.m.–12.30 p.m., closing midnight Saturday 6 a.m.–11 p.m. 6 a.m.–10 p.m.	1 p.m.–3 p.m., 6 p.m.–11 p.m. 12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m. 12.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m., 6 p.m.–10 p.m.

Harrison: 1994, p. 317

APPENDIX 9

Temperance Notables

1



Thomas Whittaker (1813-99). Teetotal Pioneer
Harrison, 1994, p. 265

2



Sir Wilfred Lawson II (1829-1906). Prohibitionist Radical M.P.
Campbell, 1911, p. 241

3



T. A. Smith (18??). Temperance Lecturer
anon. *Brief Memoirs*, n.p.

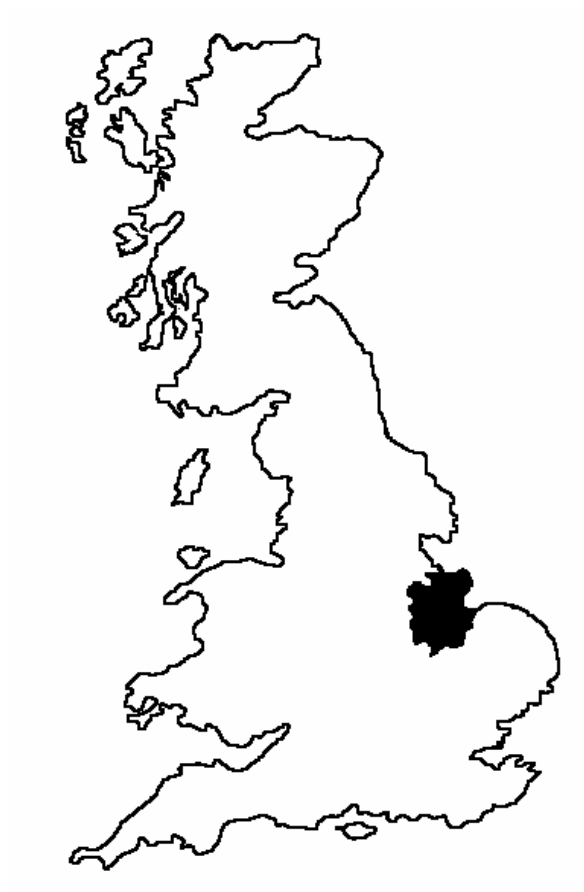
4



J. H. Raper (1820-97). Temperance Orator
Campbell, 1911, p. 17

Map 1

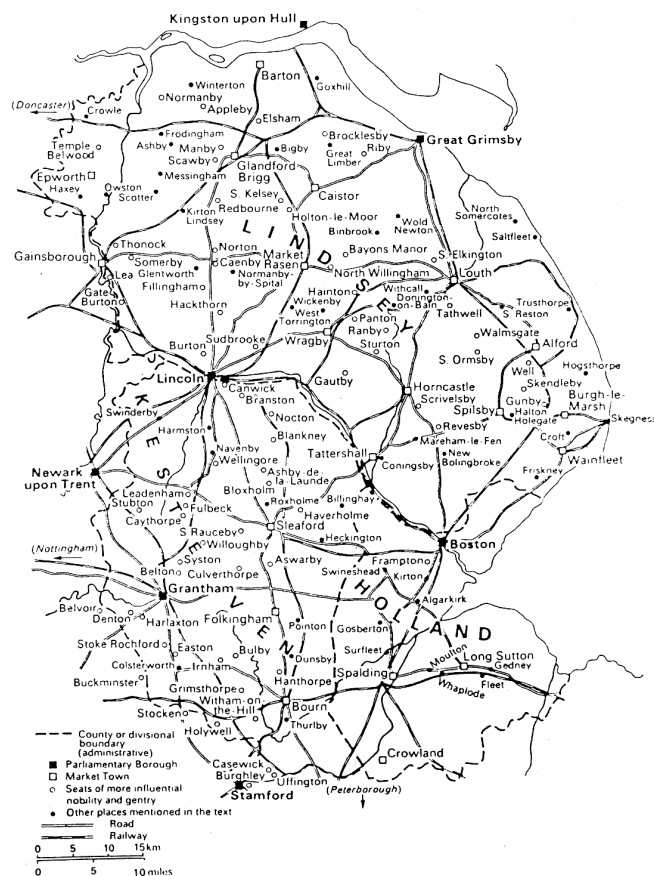
Lincolnshire



Lincolnshire Recreational Services Dept. n.d.

Map 2

Lincolnshire c. 1885, showing towns, communications and country seats



Olney: 1973

Map 3

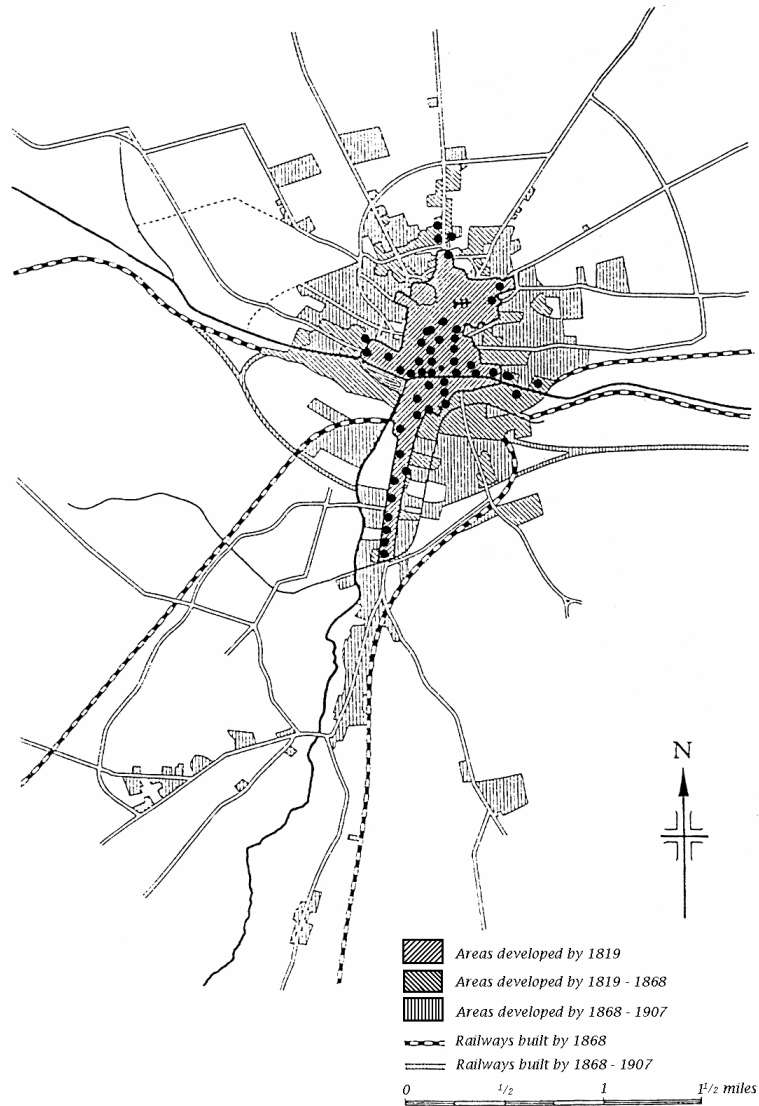
Lincolnshire's parliamentary boundaries, 1832, 1867 and 1885



Olney: 1973

Map 4

City of Lincoln. Effect of the Beer Act 1830



- Location of licenced premises in the 1842 *White's Directory* which did not appear in the 1826 *Directory*

Robinson: 1978, p. 6

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